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WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF THE CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION OF NEW ENGLAND
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Volume XXV

JANUARY, 1930

Number 4

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

Published by the Classical Association of the Middle West and South, with the cooperation of the Classical Association of New England and the Classical Association of the Pacific States

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THE CLASSICAL JOURNAL

VOLUME XXV

JANUARY, 1930

NUMBER 4

Editorial

PERFECTO TEMPORIS ORBE

With the publication of this number of the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL*, there opens the year to which thousands have been looking forward for half a decade, the year which marks the bimillennium of Vergil's birth.¹ It will not be amiss to remind ourselves of the stages in the progress of this celebration. In 1924 an Italian society, *Atene e Roma*, called attention to the approaching anniversary in a Latin proclamation and invited the whole world of Vergil-lovers to participate in the event. This announcement was promptly reprinted by Professor Frank J. Miller in the December issue of this *JOURNAL* for that year (xx, 129-31), and it was well understood that in due time our Association would take suitable steps in furtherance of the occasion.

These steps were taken at the Nashville meeting in April, 1928, when our Association voted to "invite all lovers of Vergil to join Italy in thus honoring her greatest poet," instructed the editorial staff of the *JOURNAL* to make the issue of October, 1930, a special Vergil number, offered "a prize of twenty-five dollars for the best tribute to Vergil composed in Latin in a

¹ By strict calculation the anniversary would fall in 1931, since there was no zero year between 1 B.C. and A.D. 1; but the choice of 1930 is in accordance with general practice in such matters. Thus the twentieth century really began January first, 1901, but the celebration was held a year earlier.

form suitable for a commemorative tablet," and authorized the appointment of a special committee to receive further suggestions and to formulate plans for the proposed celebration of the anniversary; cf. the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* XXIII (1928), 643. In accordance with these resolutions the editors have arranged to publish a notable collection of papers dealing with Vergil in the opening number of Volume XXVI, and Latin tributes are being submitted to Professor W. L. Carr at Ann Arbor, who will also receive suggestions from any who have them to offer.

In the meanwhile the American Classical League threw itself into the enterprise on a national scale with the enthusiasm and persistence which characterize that organization. At present it has twenty-six committees organized under the general chairmanship of Dean Anna P. MacVay of the Wadleigh High School, New York City. The names and chairmen of the committees are as follows: Music on Vergilian Themes, Walter Damrosch, New York City; Awarding Prizes, A. L. Bondurant, University of Mississippi; Like Movements in Other Countries, James C. Egbert, Columbia University; Posters, Postcards, and Book Plates, James C. Boudreau, Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Commemorative Medals and Plaques, Tom H. Jones, New York City; Finance and Patrons, R. V. D. Magoffin, New York University; Pilgrimages to Places Made Famous by Vergil, Louis E. Lord, Oberlin College, and Jane Gray Carter, Hunter College, Vice Chairman; Pageants and Plays, Lillian B. Lawler, Hunter College; Publicity through the Press, Lawrence F. Abbott, New York City; Vergilian Reading, Mildred Dean, Central High School, Washington, D.C.; Vergil Courses in Colleges, Frank J. Miller, University of Chicago and University of Iowa; Vergil Courses in Schools, Richard M. Gummere, William Penn Charter School, Philadelphia; Bulletins for Teachers, Frances E. Sabin, Teachers College, Columbia University; Vergilian Lectures, Rollin H. Tanner, New York University; Cooperation with National and State Education, Thomas E. Finegan, Rochester, N. Y.; Cooperation with American Academy of Arts and Letters, Nicholas Murray Butler, Columbia University; Co-

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Two or three projects which are being sponsored by the League are of such interest as to justify a few words here. Mr. William Longyear, the artist, has painted a Vergilian Map which is being sold by the League at its office in New York City at one dollar each, and Professor Frank Gardner Moore has edited a Vergilian Calendar which is available at reasonable prices. The most pretentious enterprise, however, is the Vergilian Cruise under the auspices of the Bureau of University Travel, Newton, Mass. Under this competent management, assisted by a special corps of classical scholars, several hundred Americans will spend two months in the summer of 1930 in visiting Troy, Athens, Cnossus, Delos, Naples, Palermo, Carthage, and other points more or less intimately connected with Aeneas or Vergil. This trip and the impetus of the whole celebration ought to yield rich dividends of increased interest and understanding to classical scholarship for many a year.

R. C. F.

DIONYSIUS OF SYRACUSE—FINANCIER¹

By CHARLES J. BULLOCK

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By the opening of the fifth century B.C. a fortunate combination of land and sea power had made Syracuse the first city in Sicily, and not long afterward factional controversies brought it under the sway of a series of tyrants who ruled it most of the time until it came under Roman dominion in 212 B.C. Of these usurpers the outstanding figure was Dionysius the Elder, born about 432 B.C., who, after becoming scribe or secretary to the generals commanding the army, served with distinction in wars against the Carthaginians who then held the western part of Sicily and continually threatened the Greek cities in the rest of the island. By intrigue and demagogic Dionysius finally secured his election as generalissimo and made himself master of Syracuse; whereupon he first got rid of his principal adversaries and then disarmed his friends, "the people," by searching their houses while they were in the fields at harvest time. Thus, says Diodorus Siculus, a clerk and man of mean origin got control of the greatest city among the Greeks and maintained his dominion for thirty-eight years.

Taking advantage of his strategic position, Dionysius created a navy which swept the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic Seas, founded various cities on the Adriatic, secured control, though not direct rule, of the southern end of Italy, made a league with the Illyrians, and contracted an alliance with the Lacedaemonians that proved advantageous in many ways. In 387 B.C. he may have reached the height of his power, and at that time he was one of the outstand-

¹ From an address delivered at the University of Virginia before the School of Economics, December 5, 1928.

ing figures in the Greek world. Historians have sometimes attributed to him greater power and influence than were possessed by any other Greek prior to Alexander. Though he never succeeded in driving the Carthaginians out of Sicily and left them in possession of about a third of the island, there can be no doubt of his ability as a warrior and of his right to rank as the greatest of the Greek tyrants except, perhaps, Pisistratus of Athens.

Such a mighty and colorful figure could not fail to make a deep impression upon the Greek world. Though Hellenes hated tyrants, they were greatly interested in what they said and did, as Greek literature abundantly testifies. Diodorus Siculus, upon whom we depend chiefly for knowledge of the great Syracusan, is not a very satisfactory historian, although he collected materials extensively if not always critically. But if we turn from historians to collectors of anecdotes current in the Greek world, we find in their repositories of fact, fable, wit, and wisdom, ample evidence corroborating the general account given by Diodorus, as well as many additional details that give force and clarity to the picture. What value should be placed upon any particular story is in most cases impossible to determine; but taken as a whole the tales about Dionysius, told and retold by Aristotle, Athenaeus, Diodorus, Diogenes Laertius, Plutarch, Polyaenus, the author of the *Economics* wrongly attributed to Aristotle, and others who need not be recounted, give evidence of value concerning the character of the man. If the *Acts of Dionysius* written by Polycritus had come down to us, we might have still more valuable details but would probably be left with a picture not very different from that derived from writings now extant. Whereas a single story from Greek antiquity may have little probative value, a large collection of anecdotes, such as we have concerning Dionysius, may with proper interpretation yield evidence of great worth.

Who can doubt that a complete anthology of American humor of the last two decades would give the future historian considerable information concerning the life and achievements of Henry Ford? If the book were provided with a good index, even the casual reader would quickly learn that few Americans, if any, of

the present day had more stories told about their factory output and personal affairs than the great industrialist of Detroit. And since there is no humor where there is not a modicum of truth, such an anthology would transmit to posterity evidence which, if better sources of information were lacking, the historian of A.D. 3929 could not afford to ignore.

If from the twentieth century we revert to the eighteenth and from Detroit turn to Philadelphia, we find Matthew Carey publishing his *American Museum*, the first American magazine, which was launched in January, 1787. If in 1800 some Herodotus or Plutarch had gone through Carey's twelve volumes and excerpted all references to Benjamin Franklin, he would have collected materials which, if they constituted today all the information we had, would give us a tolerably complete picture of that distinguished man. In the first place, the fact that references to Franklin vastly outnumber those to any other person except Washington would have much significance. The principal events in his public career, his scientific interests and achievements, his inventions, "Poor Richard's" philosophy of common sense, his political and economic opinions, his family affairs, and personal characteristics, including his sense of humor, and, finally, his death and the esteem in which he was held by contemporaries, would be clearly enough set forth to enable the historian to write a satisfactory account of Benjamin Franklin the man. So we must judge it to be with the stories about Dionysius.

Without making an exact count, it is easy to determine that the Syracusan was one of the favorite subjects in antiquity. Philosophers, poets, and rulers clearly lead the list, with aesthetes, epicures, courtesans, artists, actors, parasites, and flatterers trailing far in the rear and in order not worth determining. Among rulers Dionysius ranks with the favored few, among whom Alexander was perhaps the chief, followed by such worthies as Philip, Agesilaus, Lysander, Themistocles, and a few others. By the votes of the anecdoteists, therefore, the eminence of Dionysius is securely attested.

We are here concerned with Dionysius the financier, magnifi-

cent spender of public money and ruthless but successful tax gatherer. On these points the testimony of the stories is clear and consistent. Not only as a tyrant, strong, treacherous, and cruel, was the Syracusan eminent in the opinion of the Greek world, but also as a money-getter and money-spender. Two treatises upon what the Greeks called economics have come down to us; and one of these consists chiefly of a collection of stories about expedients employed by men of former times to provide themselves with money, the men in all cases being rulers and not private citizens. Among these worthies, Dionysius clearly leads, with a record of nine successful "drives" to his credit, while the second "collector" has a record of five, and third place is divided among three contestants with scores of four each. Moreover, we have many stories from other authors about the tyrant's money-getting exploits, so that we cannot well doubt his eminence.

Like other tyrants, Dionysius always needed money. His first act as generalissimo was prophetic, for he doubled the pay of the army and told the Syracusans that there would be plenty of ways to meet the bills. Besides the army, recruited largely by mercenary troops, upon which his power depended, he had to maintain a multitude of spies; while he must look well to the fortifications of his city against Carthaginians without and secret enemies within. His navy which swept adjoining seas, his docks and storehouses, his new instruments of war, and all the paraphernalia for numerous campaigns entailed expense that could not be avoided. But beyond such absolute necessities of a great career, he sought to enlarge and embellish his city on a magnificent scale that should interest his subjects, testify to his greatness, and make his fame secure. Then, like others of his kind, he must patronize the arts and maintain his retinue of poets, philosophers, and artists, to give distinction to his court. Accounts seem to agree that the tyrant was fond of great luxury and personal indulgence; but in this respect he was reputed inferior to the Persian king, who had all Asia to supply him with luxuries, beside which those available to Dionysius seemed limited enough.

In all his spending, he was under the necessity of maintaining

a tradition of royal liberality. His city must be adorned with temples and other splendid edifices. For the people there must be magnificent feasts and spectacles. On the death of his first wife he proceeded to marry at about the same time Doris, daughter of an eminent citizen of Locris, and Aristomache, a noble lady of Syracuse. The former he brought home in a quinquereme adorned with gold and silver flags, and the latter was conveyed to his palace in a chariot drawn by four white horses. In celebration of this matrimonial "double-header" he feasted both soldiers and citizens, and for a time ruled less cruelly and bore himself more courteously. Not content with the rôle of patron of art, the tyrant turned his hand to poetry and caused his poems to be sung at the Olympian Games. There he sent skillful singers to recite his verses and four-horse chariots to compete in races, his delegation being provided with tents adorned with gold and silver embroideries. Though his verses were ridiculed and his chariots fared badly in the races, Dionysius continued his literary endeavors, being told by flatterers that envious critics would at length admire what they professed to despise. In Syracuse criticism of his poetry brought the same hazards that attended criticism of his government. The poet Philoxenus was bold enough to comment adversely upon some of the tyrant's lines, and was straightway sent to the quarries to work as a slave. Through the good offices of friends he was presently released; but at another feast, when Dionysius praised his own poetry and recited some of it, Philoxenus, being asked his opinion, bade them take him back to the quarries.

That the tyrant understood well the philosophy of liberality is sufficiently shown by the rebuke he gave his son, the younger Dionysius. Entering the young man's house one day, he beheld a large number of gold and silver vessels, and cried out: "There is in you no mind of a tyrant, you who have made no friends for yourself with all these drinking cups received from me." No other tradition than that liberality helps to secure and maintain a kingdom could have been transmitted by a Greek despot to his son. Indeed, in all antiquity no one seems to have questioned the efficiency of liberality as an aid to statecraft. The great Alexander

spoke for all when, having offered fifty talents to Persillus, who replied that ten would suffice, he said: "Sufficient for you to receive, but not for me to give."

In the age of the tyrants, questions of "ways and means" were frequently settled in mean ways. Dionysius did not differ from his kind, except in the number of his recorded exploits and perhaps the greater ingenuity exhibited in some of them. His numerous wars sometimes brought rich booty, while tribute he may have received from conquered cities. Then there was the levy made upon unfortunate Rhegium after he captured it. Calling an assembly of the inhabitants, Dionysius told them that, instead of enslaving them, he would permit them to go free if they reimbursed his war expenses and in addition paid three minae per head. The Reginians drew upon their concealed wealth, and paid the sum demanded. Then Dionysius sold them into slavery, and seized the hidden treasures which had been brought to light.

On occasion he plundered temples which, in Greece as elsewhere, sometimes acquired riches that attracted the attention of needy rulers. From the temple of Leucothea he is reported to have taken much gold and silver, besides many ornaments of many kinds. As a reprisal against the Etruscans, he captured the town of Pyrgi and plundered a wealthy temple in that vicinity. The temple of Hera at Lacinium also felt his heavy hand; and it was there that he may have secured the costly garment which Athenaeus says he sold to the Carthaginians for a hundred and twenty talents. At home, it is related, also by Athenaeus, that Dionysius stood at a golden table before the statue of Aesculapius to drink a pledge, and then ordered the table carried away. The anonymous treatise on *Economics* states that whenever, in making a round of the temples, Dionysius saw a gold or silver table displayed, he would order a libation to be poured and the table to be removed. In the same place we read that he was accustomed to strip gold raiment and silver crowns from the statues of the gods, saying that he would give them substitutes, lighter and more fragrant, which he caused to be fashioned with white cloth and white violets. Such things he is reputed to have done light-heartedly and sometimes

with accompaniment of ready wit. When sailing away from plundering the temple of Proserpina in Locris, he noticed that his fleet enjoyed a favoring breeze, and called attention to the prosperous voyage which the immortal gods gave to those committing sacrilege. When he took a heavy golden mantle from the statue of Olympian Zeus and replaced it with one of wool, he remarked that gold was too heavy for summer and too cold for winter. And again, when he appropriated golden drinking cups and crowns that were held in the outstretched hands of statues of the gods, he said he was not *taking* anything but merely *receiving* what was offered. In respect of the number of "drives" against temples, the name of Dionysius leads all the rest; and this habit furnished ground for one of the accusations hurled against the tyrant on the day when his opponent, Theodorus, "cut loose" in the public assembly.

Debasement of the coinage was a fairly common expedient in Greek times, and it did not escape the attention of Dionysius. Having borrowed money from citizens of Syracuse and being pressed for repayment, he ordered all the coin in the city to be brought to him, under penalty of death. After taking up the collection, he restamped the coins, giving to each drachma the value of two drachmae, so that he was enabled to pay back both the original loan and the money he had ordered brought to the mint. At another time he coined money of tin and, calling an assembly, praised the new coinage and secured an unwilling vote that it should pass current at the same rate as silver. Heavy fines and confiscations of property must have been in his repertoire, though the chief evidence we have is the statement of Diodorus that the reason why he wished to have exiles called back to Syracuse was that he considered them to be people naturally inclined toward change, who would like to see their enemies killed and their enemies' property confiscated. That he failed to resort to expedients often practised by tyrants, as recorded in the treatise on *Economics* and known to be common in Greek cities, can hardly be believed. Another of his devices suggests the practice known to English law as "wardship." He is said to have ordered all estates of orphans to be

registered, and then to have made what use he could of such properties until the owners became of age.

Whatever other means he may have employed, Dionysius resorted to heavy taxation. One of the arts of the tyrant, says Aristotle, is to impoverish his subjects in order that he may thus provide for the support of his troops and, by keeping the people hard at work, prevent them from conspiring against him. Dionysius, he states, resorted to heavy taxation of property and, in a period of five years, contrived to have brought into his treasury the whole substance of his people. Just what this means is not clear; but it may be that the Syracusan merely improved on the device of Cypselus of Corinth, who listed the property of his subjects and took away the tenth part thereof, telling the people to trade with what was left them and thus restore their fortunes. This he is said to have repeated for ten years, with the result that he collected as much as the Corinthians originally owned, while they endeavored by hard work to keep their fortunes intact. But the story admits of other interpretations: listing all property at its full value was apparently as difficult in ancient Greece as it is in the United States. At Athens, in a law court, Demosthenes offers evidence that the taxable value of his estate is three talents as proof that it is really worth fifteen, which would indicate that property was assessed at twenty per cent of its true value. This may have been true in Syracuse. Certainly the people of that city would be inclined to conceal their wealth; in fact, one of the interesting stories about the tyrant relates to a citizen who buried money. But even if we assume a great deal of evasion, the levy described by Aristotle would certainly appear too heavy to be endured as a permanent tax. In Greek cities the tax on property was universally hated, so much so that in Athens the original name was dropped and a more agreeable euphemism substituted. The general tendency was to finance a Greek city by other revenues in time of peace, and reserve the property tax for emergencies. This may have been the practice of the tyrant of Syracuse; and the levy mentioned by Aristotle, like the similar tax of Cypselus at Corinth, may well have been a capital levy for war expenses.

In a community as heavily taxed as Syracuse, Dionysius had abundant opportunity to display his resourcefulness as financier. Once he wanted to increase his navy, and thereupon called an assembly before which he appeared with the statement that a certain city was on the point of being betrayed to him and that he needed money for the enterprise. He therefore asked each citizen to contribute two staters, which was done. After two or three days, he pretended that the project had gone wrong and returned the money, praising the citizens, apparently collected in the assembly, for their generosity. Having won the good will of his subjects, he later asked and received another contribution, given in the expectation that it would be returned. Obviously, if the tyrant took a city, the booty would enable him to reimburse those who advanced the necessary capital. Like participants in a modern shell game, the Syracusans had been allowed to win the first time; but the second time Dionysius kept the money and built his triremes.

Besides this popular loan, which turned out to be ship money, Dionysius tried an interesting experiment with taxation of live stock. When taxes became so heavy that people stopped raising cattle, Dionysius announced that his needs were now satisfied and that thereafter those who acquired cattle should be free of tax. Soon, the story continues, many people acquired many cattle in reliance on the promised exemption; and then, at the fitting moment, Dionysius ordered that cattle should again be valued and taxed. Angry at the deception, the people started to slaughter their herds and sell the meat; whereupon the tyrant decreed that they should kill only as many cattle as were needed for daily use. To meet this order, the people devoted their cattle to sacrifice in honor of the gods, upon which the tyrant prohibited the sacrifice of any female animal.

Popular resistance to new taxes is the theme of two anecdotes, or perhaps variant versions of the same original. According to the *Economics*, when Dionysius in want of money demanded a contribution, the citizens replied that they had nothing to give. The tyrant then brought out his own household effects and, pre-

tending poverty, offered them for sale. When the Syracusans came forward to purchase, he recorded what everyone bought and then, after receiving payment, ordered every purchaser to bring the articles back. According to Polyaenus, Dionysius, in need of money, demanded a contribution. When the people replied that they had been contributing altogether too frequently, he ordered his officers to take from the temple of Aesculapius all offerings of silver and gold and place them on sale in the market place. The Syracusans purchased treasures with avidity, so that a large sum of money was raised. This Dionysius appropriated and then made proclamation that whoever had bought of the sacred objects should immediately take them to the temple and restore them to the god, under penalty of death. Thus Aesculapius received his due and Dionysius was left in funds. Since such an expedient would hardly succeed more than once, it is reasonable to regard these stories as variant versions of the same occurrence, and reasonable also to accept them as fairly trustworthy evidence that upon occasion the tyrant secured payment of taxes by stratagem rather than distraint of goods and chattels.

Dionysius the tax gatherer believed in equal rights, at least to the extent of not denying the women of Syracuse the privilege of paying taxes. In this he was not original, because Periander, tyrant of Corinth, at a solemn festival where he knew the women would be present in their best apparel, sent officers who despoiled them of their jewels, thus raising money for a golden statue he had vowed to erect if he won his chariot race at the Olympic Games. Moreover, the *Economics* records that the Ephesians, needing money, passed a law that women should not wear gold ornaments and should lend to the city what they then possessed. While the narrative is far from clear, it further appears that those whose contributions equaled a certain sum in silver money (presumably the coin current) should have their names inscribed upon pillars of the temple as dedicators, a detail which suggests that the forced loan was for the purpose of constructing, refitting, or embellishing the temple which made the city famous.

The exploit of Dionysius is thus set forth in the *Economics*.

Needing money, he summoned the Syracusans to an assembly, wherein we may assume that mere men were the only persons in attendance. As was his custom, he appeared and presented his story, which was that he had seen the goddess Demeter, who bade him bring to her temple the ornaments of the women. As for himself, he stated, he had already contributed the ornaments of the women of his household. He desired, therefore, that the rest of the citizens should do likewise in order to avoid the vengeance of the goddess, adding, naturally, that anyone who refused would be guilty of sacrilege. When all the ornaments were brought to the temple, through fear of the goddess and of the tyrant himself, as the narrative puts it, he dedicated them to Demeter and then bore them away as a loan from the goddess. No doubt the dedication was as public as his communication to the assembly, and it is touching to contemplate the despoiler of temples helping his fellow townsmen avoid the crime of sacrilege; concerning the loan the narrative merely tells us that it was from the goddess, and says nothing about the rate of interest or terms of repayment. But the *Economics* does add that, after some time had elapsed and the women had again begun to wear ornaments, the tyrant gave orders that anyone who wished to deck herself with gold should offer a stated sum to the temple. Conceivably such offerings were to repay the loan which the tyrant received from the goddess. But if this view be rejected, it is clear that the temple in the course of time would again acquire funds which would enable it to make further loans.

Thus far the tales exhibit Dionysius in the guise of a clever but utterly rapacious tyrant, spending money without limit and gathering it without regard to consequences in this world or in the lower regions where dwelt the spirits of the dead. Whatever he secured abroad by spoiling temples, looting cities, and exacting tribute may be set down as gain to Syracuse; but within that city his fines, confiscations, and heavy taxes, if employed as ordinary measures, must have tended to repress enterprise, discourage accumulation, and dry up sources of future revenue. Yet the tyrant ruled for thirty-eight years and left his throne to his son,

so that the economist wonders whether his financial measures could always have been so uneconomic as most of the anecdotes depict. All this is mere conjecture, though based on just inference from the correct principle that in the long run excessive taxation defeats its primary purpose, which is of course to provide revenue to defray the charges of government. But we are not left wholly to conjecture, for there are three anecdotes which throw upon the character of Dionysius the financier quite a different light from that shed by the other stories. In Greek antiquity, as at the present day, the picturesque, the startling, the conspicuous must have been noised abroad and preserved in anecdote much more readily than the quiet, sober, and well-considered acts which arouse less popular interest but tend to preserve cities and dynasties. Three such actions of Dionysius are recorded in tales which have come down to us.

The first is related by no less a person than Aristotle, whose *Politics* dates to the period immediately following the death of Dionysius. It is narrated soberly, with serious purpose, and obviously with confidence in its authenticity. But more than this, it is one of those stories which, rightly understood, carry their own credentials because they contain truths beyond the ken of the maker of tales or the wielder of a ready calamus. "And in Sicily a certain man who had money on deposit with him bought up all the iron from the mines; and afterward, when the merchants came from the markets, he was the only seller. Without greatly increasing the price, he nevertheless on his outlay of fifty talents received a hundred. Now when Dionysius learned this, he ordered the man to take his money away and remain no longer in Syracuse, because he had discovered ways of making money opposed to his own interests." The exploit of the banker was nothing extraordinary. Aristotle relates that the philosopher Thales cornered the supply of olive presses in a season when the harvest was especially abundant, and the anonymous treatise on *Economics* relates that various cities created monopolies of grain and other commodities. But the most interesting detail of the story of the banker of Syracuse, and the hall mark certifying its essential veracity, is the per-

mission freely given by the tyrant to take so much money away from his city. Can this be our Dionysius the rapacious, plunderer of cities, despoiler of temples, tax gatherer with a scourge of scorpions? Even though his treasury overflowed at the moment, he must have known that the tyrant of Syracuse could never have enough. Why, then, these words that stand out so clearly in the narrative: "He ordered the man to take his money away and remain no longer in Syracuse"? For such a departure from ordinary form, which the recorder of the tale apparently desired to emphasize, there is one, and so far as I can see but one, plausible explanation. As a financier, Dionysius was big enough to appreciate skill in a fellow craftsman, even when exhibited in his own city and adversely to his interests. In effect, he said to the poacher on his domain: "You are a clever worker, and I am not going to rob you. Keep your money, but get out of Syracuse. There isn't room enough for two of us in one town."

Another tale, preserved in Plutarch's *Apophthegmata*, has less color but no less interest. "And having heard that a certain citizen had gold concealed in his house, he ordered the man to bring it to him. But when the man, having managed to conceal a little of the treasure, moved to another city and purchased land there, Dionysius sent for him and told him to take back all his gold, enjoining him to keep his money employed and never again allow it to lie idle." Again we ask, Can this be Dionysius? And again we confront the question of reconciling this tale with others of a different purport. If the mystery admits of solution, I think we must begin with the simple fact that, grasping as the tyrant was, he ruled Syracuse for thirty-eight years while the city grew in wealth and power. This could not have been if his financial policies had always been repressive, destructive, and uneconomic. We must, indeed, believe that his taxes were sometimes heavy, that he devised cunning and severe methods of collection, and that the people of Syracuse often complained. But revenue was necessary for the defense and development of his city; in spite of his taxes, the community grew and prospered; and complaints about taxation are as old as the hills and as recurrent as the fifteenth day of March. If

most of the tales that have come down to us reveal Dionysius the rapacious, this story presents him as a financier who desired that citizens of Syracuse should keep their capital employed, by which course, obviously, they would increase the sources of public revenue.

That there was a limit to his exactions, and one fixed with financial wisdom, is indicated by a final tale, also preserved by Plutarch: "When, levying taxes upon the Syracusans, he found them lamenting, entreating, and saying that they had no money, he ordered still another tax to be levied. And this he did twice and thrice. But when he was preparing another levy and heard that the people were laughing and jesting as they went around in the market place, he ordered his officers to desist. 'For now,' he said, 'they have nothing left, since they hold us in derision.' " In the last sentence the word "nothing" should be understood to refer not to property but to ready money for the payment of taxes. While all property was laid under contribution, the tyrant knew that payment must be made out of current and not fixed assets. The point of the story is that, so long as the Syracusans lamented, entreated, and declared they had no money for taxes, Dionysius knew that they protested too much and that more revenue could be secured by another twist of the screw. Upon the other hand, when current assets were reduced to a point that brought them face to face with ruin, the Syracusans perforce became resigned to the situation and proceeded to extract what amusement they could from it; whereupon the tyrant stayed his hand.

This tale conveys a lesson not found, so far as I am aware, in any treatise on public finance, and one that escaped me until I observed the last years of the excess profits tax in the United States. In 1917, when the measure was before Congress, few realized what it was going to mean. Then in the spring of 1918, when the first returns must be made, came curses both loud and deep. For this, of course, the confused language of the law, the inevitable complexity of its provisions, and the bureaucratic administration it received were to a considerable extent responsible; but presently the destructive and uneconomic nature of the measure began

to be realized. Then came 1920, when the post-war boom collapsed; but liability for taxes, assessed, reassessed, and overassessed for the war years, did not disappear along with the hectic prosperity which came to an end when inflation was followed by inevitable deflation. By 1921, a year of deep depression, when it came to paying taxes, back taxes, and further back taxes, on paper profits never realized in money but estimated to have been made in the previous three or four years, the situation had become too serious for curses or imprecations; and there was nothing to do but accept it in the best humor possible. Then came jokes about "tax hounds," the distress profits tax, the red ink-combe tax, the taxation of deficits, and the conversion of frozen inventories into taxable sunshine. Then, and only then, did I appreciate the wisdom of Dionysius, who found out twenty-two centuries ago that when a tax becomes a joke it should be repealed, and that quickly. In this instance the wisdom of Dionysius so far surpassed that of the American Congress and our Department of Internal Revenue, as then constituted, that comparison would be not only difficult but odious.

This is the story of Dionysius, financier. Syracuse found him expensive but became a bigger and perhaps a busier city, so that it must have received some return for the money contributed during the thirty-eight years of his rule. In finance, as in other things, the tyrant was ruthless, and his methods were often characterized by severity, impiety, and deceit; but he did nothing that differed generically from the expedients to which Greek cities, whether ruled by tyrants or not, resorted in time of financial stress. As revealed by the anecdotes, he was simply more resourceful and successful than ordinary tyrants, while some of the stories, as we have seen, indicate that he had some grasp of principles of sound finance. In the main, his conduct seems to have been governed chiefly by the inexorable conditions of the great game he elected to play, that of usurping rule in Syracuse, mastering the island of Sicily, and, from this strategic base, making himself arbiter of the western part of the Greek world.

Among the conditions of this game was the necessity of carry-

ing on activities involving great expense which must be on a regal scale. This habit of magnificent expenditure he inevitably bequeathed his son, the younger Dionysius, who presently ruled in his stead. The young man, reared in luxury and indolence, was not allowed to participate in public affairs and so prepare himself for ruling a city. In fact, no tyrant with two wives could safely allow a son to take a hand in affairs of state; and in the case of Dionysius we have Plutarch's story of the attempt of Dion to intervene in the interests of the children of the tyrant's Syracusan wife, and of the physicians, friendly to the younger Dionysius, son of the Locrian wife, who gave the dying tyrant a potion which brought him not only sleep but death. Yet there are at least two tales that testify to the desire of the father to educate the son to his responsibilities. When the young man debauched the wife of a citizen and was called to account, he replied, with the cleverness of the younger generation, that his father did not know what it was to be the son of a tyrant. To this the elder replied: "Nor will you have a tyrant for a son unless you stop doing such things." Like Machiavelli, the great Syracusan knew that it was prudent for a tyrant to respect the wives and daughters of his subjects. And again, we have the story, presented above, of Dionysius remonstrating with his son for selfishly keeping golden treasures instead of distributing them among his friends and securing their friendship by royal liberality. Whatever the responsibility of the father may have been, the younger Dionysius proved easy-going and pleasure-loving, swayed by the influence of flatterers and boon companions, and incapable of wearing the heavy mantle of the great tyrant.

The rest of the story is quickly related. The legacy of magnificence, in expenditure and taxes, turned out to be one of the causes of the ruin of the son and heir. Like Rehoboam, who inherited the grandeur and taxes of Solomon, the younger Dionysius found himself plagued with financial problems. The splendor of the court must be maintained, and real economy would have raised up a host of enemies from those who profited by great public expenditure. That he felt financially embarrassed is indicated by a vain

attempt to reduce the pay of his father's veteran soldiers. The road to ruin was easy and broad; and when, despised for his indolence and debauchery, he rejected the advice of his best counselor, the inevitable uprising occurred. Sending secretly to Dion, the popular leader, the young tyrant tried to make terms with him, but was told to treat publicly with the Syracusans, now a free people. The father would have dared to go in person to the assembly; but the weak son sent representatives who promised *moderation in taxes* and easy military service, both of which should be determined by vote of the people. Coming too late, this offer was derided by the Syracusans, who replied that they would not confer with their ruler unless he first abdicated, in which case he might expect personal immunity and reasonable treatment. In the end, negotiation proving fruitless and treachery unavailing, Dionysius the Younger escaped from his citadel on the little island of Ortygia and sailed away with such persons and property as he valued most, eluding the Syracusan fleet. The financial requirements of the great tyrant could not be readily reduced or safely financed by his weak and less resourceful son. For this, among other reasons, the younger Dionysius lost his city, just as Rehoboam saw the kingdom of Solomon rent asunder. Thereby history repeated itself, as nearly as it ever does; and from the tale the student of finance may learn lessons of universal interest and of modern as well as ancient application. "Financial science," as Leroy-Beaulieu once remarked, "has a terrible fashion of avenging itself upon governments which ignore or defy it."

THE VOGUE OF OVID SINCE THE RENAISSANCE

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Ovid's claim to the regard of history is not enforced by one lone consideration. On any one of several counts he would live. As a pure poet he is barely second to the four immortals of the golden age. He has set all Greek mythology in a fascinating frame. He has been proved, through a scientific analysis, to be the author of a technically perfect short story, one of a hundred of his tales, which place him in the company of Homer and Boccaccio and Chaucer. Our knowledge of Roman religion is enriched and vivified by his *Calendar*. Even his literature on love would not suffer his name to be negligible, though the Middle Ages devoured it with more relish than have recent times. And the human story of his exile, as recorded in his poems from the Euxine, arrests our sympathy; alone it would insure his memory.

These remarks concern the man until his death. The activity of those sixty years is meager compared with his posthumous life. In the Middle Ages, during the Renaissance, and as far as the beginning of the nineteenth century the spirit of Ovid was energetic. The Ovidian elegiac was a medium of education for centuries. Painting and sculpture drew their themes and their stimulus from his mythical tales. He was *praeceptor morum* as well as *praeceptor amoris*, in both capacities enjoying a wide vogue. The opera as well as literature drank from the fountains of the *Metamorphoses*. Somehow — it is not easy to understand how — the second-rate Roman poet won his way directly to the hearts of the first-rate poets of Italy, France, Spain, Germany, and England. And were it not to make an anticlimax,

German erudition might be regarded as a substantial phase of Ovid's *Fortleben*.

Ovid is not without honor in his home town. His closest rival for first place in the 2100 years of its history is Pope Innocent VII, who follows him *longissimo intervallo* — unless, indeed, we admit the companion spirit of D'Annunzio, whose infancy and childhood were nurtured by the same free mountain air among the Abruzzi, at the neighboring village of Pescara. The evidences of his honor are numerous. In imitation of the official device *S. P. Q. R.* for the capital, Sulmona employs *S. M. P. E.*, initials of the poet's words, *Sulmo mihi patria est*. They are inscribed on the facade of all monuments, at the head of all public documents, and on many coins. The main street of Sulmona is *Corso Ovidio*. The town school is *Collegio Ovidio*. A fifteenth-century statue of the poet, six feet, three inches high, is seen in the courtyard of the school. It is in the garb of a monk or perhaps of a doctor. The inhabitants of Sulmona point to a villa — falsely identified — of Ovid at a short distance from the town.

A more convincing monument to the vitality of Ovid's spirit in the neighborhood of his home are the popular legends of the country folk. An inquiry about Ovid brings the reply: "He was a great magician, trader, prophet, preacher, saint, paladin." On the point of being damned he was made a saint because he humbled himself before "Divine Wisdom." Thereafter he attended mass and preached in the Church of St. Francis of Assisi. At the tender age of eight years Ovid journeyed to Rome and formed a friendship with Cicero. They agreed to travel around the world and spent seven years together. Ovid was always on Cicero's right, believing himself Cicero's superior. At the Passo di Coccia Ovid showed his unparalleled learning by speaking two Latin words which Cicero could not understand. A single manuscript of Ovid's works was preserved at Sulmona until one of Napoleon's generals borrowed it and carried it with him to France. It was the source of assistance to the French in many discoveries and inventions.

Men came to Ovid's villa to hunt for treasure, but no one had

found any because "Viddie" would not permit it. On the night before the Santissima Annunziata at midnight each year Ovid went in a carriage drawn by four horses through the ruins of the villa. If the treasure hunter could weigh a single pile of gold he could remove the remainder even by day. But there was the danger of "Viddie's" return. Once a necromancer made the attempt, but three large serpents and numerous wolves, bears, lions, and tigers guarded the three piles of gold.

The emperor became angry at Ovid and told the courtiers to prevent his escape. They placed him in a chest and let him out the window. The emperor saw him there and left him a day and night and then exiled him because he could not decide to kill him.

Such legends still persist — and there are many of them¹ — in this town and countryside of central Italy. Comparetti's *Vergil in the Middle Ages* may yet have a companion volume of comparable size and interest, with Ovid as its hero.

A better part of me
Above the stars eternal shall, like flame,
Live, and no death prevail against my name.

In spite of Ovid's assurance, expressed in these words, at the conclusion of the *Metamorphoses*, he was for a thousand years little more than a name. Unlike Vergil and Horace, during this time he was not a schoolbook. Unlike them, his works were infrequently copied. While later manuscripts are numerous there are almost no copies prior to the eleventh century. He had to await his turn, and it was a long, cold wait. The pure pagan spirit of Ovid doubtless encountered almost universal hostility from monks and priests and other functionaries of the early mediaeval Christian Church. The culture of Charlemagne's court knew him. But evidence of Ovidian interest is nowhere pronounced until the end of the eleventh century. An eleventh-century decree speaks of the *praecepta Ovidii doctoris egregii*.

¹ Cf. A. de Nino, who in the little volume, *Ovidio nella Tradizione Popolare di Sulmona* (Casalbordino, 1886), has collected these and other stories which concern Ovid and his birthplace.

Traube (1861-1907), the eminent German mediaevalist, says that the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were an *aetas Ovidiana*, as the eighth and ninth were an *aetas Vergiliana*, and the tenth and eleventh an *aetas Horatiana*. Edmond Faral² in his studies on the Latin sources of the court tales and romances in the Middle Ages remarks:

It is curious to observe how at the beginning of the twelfth century the name of Ovid is widespread in library catalogues, how copies of his works multiply, how numerous pseudo-Ovidian poems come into being, how imitations, citations, excerpts from his poems are witness to and enhance his popularity.

In the fourth volume of Burmann's *Ovid* (1827), perhaps the most valuable edition of the poet's complete works, the editor has assembled a large number of *Praefationes*, *Dedicationes*, *Iudicia*, and *Testimonia*, culled from the editions of continental scholars of the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries. They represent the attitude of scholarship and literary criticism toward the numerous aspects of the poet's genius during this period. Much of this section of the paper is indebted to the Burmann edition.

In his Preface to the *Ibis* in 1475 Domitius Calderinus says that he must forbear to write on Ovid's life, since that had already been done by numerous predecessors.

The *Metamorphoses*, in the opinion of Raphael Regius (at the end of the fifteenth century), was eagerly read wherever the Latin language was understood. He calls it an *exemplar totius humanae et civilis vitae*, the work of a *poeta facundissimus*. It comprehends not only ancient history, under the guise of myth, but geography and astrology and music and oratory and moral and natural philosophy. In fact, says Raphael, Ovid seems to have appropriated to his work all the merits of Homer, of Hesiod, of Theocritus, of Pindar, of Alcaeus, of Anacreon, of Sappho, of Aeschylus, of Sophocles, of Euripides, of Aristophanes, of Menander, of Herodotus. He mentions forty-nine well-known

² Cf. *Recherches sur les Sources des Contes et Romans Courtois du Moyen Age*; Paris, Honoré Champion (1913), 4.

names and permits the reader to include other poets and historians of antiquity. Is a more comprehensive tribute known?

Aldus Manutius, from the same period, is one of several scholars who remind us that, while Ovid learned his metamorphoses from the Greeks, he in turn has become their teacher. Greece did not in most cases feel the need of translating the Latin classics into her own language. But she has nothing of the kind equal to the *Metamorphoses* and the *Heroides*; and so Planudes, with these two works, reversed the almost universal translation process, Greek to Latin.

Andreas Asulanus (ca. 1518) calls Ovid *vates ingeniosissimus*, harking back to the identical epithet used by Seneca soon after the poet's death. Calvin, in his commentary on Seneca's *De Clementia*, published in 1532, for all his puritanism, quotes from all the works of Ovid.

In an enthusiastic outburst of Jacob Micyllus (1503-1558) the *Metamorphoses* are called the storehouse of all poetry, the *cornu Copiae*. According to him the reader will not understand other poets unless he first be informed and instructed by the reading of Ovid.

Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609), a very great scholar and one with the broadest sympathies and soundest judgment, who has left as part of his literary heritage estimates of all important writers in Latin literature, begins by calling Ovid *doctissimus poeta*, and continues with the remark that his facility is beyond imitation. He defends him from the charge of poor Latinity and goes no farther than to concede — a small concession — that he was a better poet than critic. Scaliger at least is not liable to the charge of bombast.

The frequent *apologiae* in our poet's behalf indicate that he had his detractors even in the heyday of his glory. Jean Passerat (1534-1602) defends him from the accusation of excessive luxuriance by quoting Cicero, *De Oratore*: "Let youth express itself without restraint" (it is the passage in which he uses the figure of the vine pruning). Assuming the authenticity of the *Consolatio ad Liviam*, we quote from Passerat:

Philosophers watered their gardens from Ovidian springs. . . . Read Seneca's consolations to Polybius, to Martia, to his mother Elbia. If you do not admit that Seneca had read carefully and had mastered and appropriated Ovid's entire poem, I confess that I have no more sense than a beet.

At the fastidious criticism that Ovid was devoid of elegance Passerat exclaims: "*Delicias hominis!* Such a Sybarite of Sybarites would have provoked even the Muses to laughter." George Fabritius in the dedication to his edition of the *Metamorphoses* calls him *poeta elegantissimus*, an epithet which recurs with remarkable frequency from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century.

Divinus describes the poet and his works only less commonly than *elegans*. *Divinum illud opus Fastorum, divinum hoc Ovidii Metamorphosis opus, cum divini illis Ovidii caloribus* [sc. the *Amores*], and finally *divinus poeta*, all are tributes from scholars of this period, the last being from the Preface to Nicolaas Hein-sius' famous edition of the *Metamorphoses*.

A finer tribute and a more just and discriminating appraisal of the poet cannot perhaps be found in the sixteenth century than that of Joachim Camerarius:

So remarkable is his talent, so facile his movement, so swift his reactions, that in the type of poetry written without effort and preparation you could not find that which is, I do not say superior, but even equal to his work. His thoughts compel expression, his diction stimulates thought. There are no ornaments or figures of speech which our poet has failed to discover. They all occur to him spontaneously. The result is that some overly nice critics take offense at them, and the jealous carp, as a poor man does at the wealthy.

Hercules Ciofanus, a fellow townsman of the poet, published an elaborate commentary on all his works, with brief prefaces to each, in the year 1583. To him the *Epistolae ex Ponto* possessed *felicitas* and *facilitas*; they were expressed *dilucide, pure, ornate, copioseque, summa cum dexteritate et elegantia*; the *Ibis* was an *opus elegantissimum*; the *Fasti* were unsurpassed in erudition among the remains of ancient poets; the *Metamorphoses* were ingenious and witty, abounding in substantial learning on

varied themes; the *Amores* were *iucundissimi* and *eruditissimi*; and finally Ovid himself was *poeta lepidissimus ac doctissimus*.

After portraying the diverse excellences of various Roman poets Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655) mentions five qualities wherein Ovid surpasses them all: *facilitas, simplicitas, acumen, velocitas, suavitas*. Nicolaas Heinsius, his son, the chief Ovidian scholar of his day, calls Ovid the incomparable favorite of the Muses. The elder Heinsius' main interest, he tells us, was to probe the dusty hiding places of the libraries of all Europe for manuscripts of the poet. A yet more substantial tribute on Heinsius' part is found in the excellent Latin elegiacs which he learned to write from Ovid and in which he expressed his testimony to the poet's high merit:

In him are joined the weight and force of the Latin tongue with the soft charm of the language of Athens. When Rome strove to reach high heaven through her inspired bards, supreme honor was due my beloved Naso. . . . I could believe that the gods above, after dining on ambrosia, spoke in his language. . . . Though Rome has fallen Ovid still lives. He is often the work of scholars' devotion, as of old. Despising death he enjoys a fame untouched by time's passing; it far exceeds that of Rome's ruler who banished him.

A not uncommon outlet for the enthusiastic admirers of Ovid was to indict the Emperor Augustus for his unconscionable cruelty. In 1714 Burmann wrote a poem, from which the following are quoted:

Under your dominion, Caesar, Naso is now learning the language of the Scythians and the Sarmatians. . . . Iron of heart, you have crushed a noble spirit, which knew no Latin superior in artistic power or in fertility of imagination. . . . Naso, you are mistaken: a life of shame is secure under the emperor; but poetic genius and brilliant style prove their possessor's undoing. . . . Under the Scythian sky the ardor of the Muses was abated.

Evidences of hostility or unfavorable estimates of the poet are frequent during these centuries. But the best authorities did not sympathize with them, e.g. Julius Caesar Scaliger, who praised Ovid as a model of speech, perfect in every respect, and thought that critics who would detract from him should be puri-

fied with brimstone. Heinsius, Muretus, and Joseph Scaliger give cordial assent to that judgment.

Translations and editions were legion during these centuries in all the more important countries of Europe. The superb ten-volume edition of the poet's complete works by Amar-Lemaire (1820-24), under the caption *Notitia Litteraria*, gives a 160-page bibliography covering the years between 1471 and the opening of the nineteenth century. During most of this period he holds his own in the volume of scholarship even with Vergil and Horace.

Having enumerated a selection of *iudicia* and *testimonia* of scholars and critics over a period reaching to the opening of the eighteenth century, we pass to the literature of this period, only pausing to mention the most reliable biography of the poet, that of John Masson, published in 1708. It is no slight discredit to Ovidian scholarship that this work, admirable for its time, remains unsuperseded, as undoubtedly it now remains unread.

Ovid's vogue in literature is too vast a subject to permit comprehensive treatment, however sketchy, in this paper. Modern surveys and estimates of it are considerable, but even more considerable are the gaps in what ultimately may be a fairly accurate, if not complete, picture of the poet's place. We shall merely drop random hints and tell a few interesting connections between Ovid and literature in several European countries, with the hope of making an impression that is not misleading.

De Laharpe in the *Cours de Litterature* (1827) quotes the following witticism from a contemporary:

I loved Ovid at the age of twenty;
I love Horace now that I am forty.

This was indeed the experience of more than one, if we have understood correctly Petrarch and Boccaccio and Montaigne and Milton. While it is conceivable that maturity should modify one's taste in the direction of Ovid to Horace, this is the exception during the creative periods in literature from the twelfth to the eighteenth century, and in parts where our knowledge of literature is best known, i. e. in England, France, Germany, Spain, and Italy.

Chaucer and Marlowe and Spenser and Shakespeare and Milton and Dryden owe a profound debt to this "shallow Roman," who among classic poets assumes the premier rôle in his influence upon the first four. Even Milton thinks that, had he not suffered exile, Ovid's rank would have been higher:

Rome's hapless bard . . .
He then had equalled even Homer's lays.
And Vergil! thou hadst won but second praise.³

In Spain the Hero and Leander myth, derived from the *Heroides*, was alone the source and inspiration of at least sixty original compositions between the fifteenth and the eighteenth centuries. Schevill's valuable study, *Ovid and the Renaissance in Spain*,⁴ only begins the study of the poet's part in the literature of a people to whom he was peculiarly congenial. Our poet assumes an important position in the *Divine Comedy* when Dante, having Vergil as his guide, salutes as "the eternal educators of humanity" Homer, Horace, Ovid, and Lucan. Dante quotes from Ovid one hundred times, indeed more often than from any other author except Vergil. Early in life and late in life Goethe found in Ovid a very congenial spirit.

We turn to France for the most sympathetic criticism and appreciation. "Of all ancient literary remains the *Metamorphoses* seem the most beautiful," says Clement Marot, early in the sixteenth century. Joachim du Bellay of the same period is sur-named *l'Ovide français*. Montaigne, by numerous allusions in his essays, evinced affection for the poet who had first awakened his love of literature. In the seventeenth century Corneille calls Ovid *l'esprit le plus éclairé et le plus délicat, le plus galant de tous les poètes*. Voltaire was not a lavish critic. In his "Apologie de la Fable" he says: "Those mountains, those woods which border the horizon are filled with metamorphoses. . . . We shall always cherish the illusions of Greece; Ovid will always fascinate us."

³ Long after Milton's death his youngest daughter, Deborah, said that Homer and Ovid were the two authors which she was most frequently asked to read to him. This is on the authority of Masson, *Life of Milton* VI, 754.

⁴ Berkeley, University of California Press (1913).

Nor does France turn from him in the nineteenth century. This inspired stanza is Lamartine's:

Before his last journey to the shores of the dead,
Ovid raised to heaven his suppliant hands.
To the rude Sarmatians he left his ashes,
And his glory to Rome.

*Informavit Cato mores
et perduxit ad honores
Naso suos homines.*

These verses from a famous poem of the twelfth century tell the truth. It is a reflection on the common sense and critical intelligence of the scholastics and their successors that Ovid was moralized like Cato, and interpreted allegorically — a most extraordinary phenomenon. This was the accepted method of interpretation for several centuries. We are not surprised that the *pietas* of Vergil won for him the position of moral teacher. But we are more than mystified to see Ovid occupy a place in company with the saints. The *ne plus ultra* of perversion occurred in 1467 when a Parisian monk copied the *Ars Amandi "ad laudem et gloriam virginis Mariae."* Two centuries later Laurence Le Brun wrote a poem *Ovidius Christianus* parallel to his *Vergilius Christianus*. In this, the mythological stories are altered to become stories of converted penitents. Had Ovid viewed this metamorphosis of his personality he could not have survived the shock. Francis Bacon says in "The Wisdom of the Ancients": "My judgment is that a concealed instruction and allegory is intended in many of the ancient fables." Pierre Bersuire, in the fourteenth century, composed a long poem moralizing Ovid, with a fourfold method of interpretation: *litteraliter, naturaliter, historialiter, allegorice.* The method is cleverly satirized in Letter xxviii of the *Epistolae Virorum Obscurorum.* Rabelais also made merry over it, but ineffectually. Peter Lavinus said in 1510: "Ovid writes in such fashion that, with minor changes, the lawgiver Moses would seem to be writing in Holy Scripture. . . . Even the Mosaic books themselves might have come to the notice of that most learned and most brilliant poet Ovid." Arthur Golding, the well-

known Elizabethan translator of the poet and his ardent admirer, points out the close parallel between the mythological beginnings of things and those in the Bible. Prometheus was "theternall woord of God"; the golden age was Eden; all four ages have scriptural parallels; the two floods correspond. Again he says: "There is no fable of Ovid which does not make for edification. And a little ingenuity will interpret every book in a sense most profitable to the reader," whom he assures that "every living wight, high and low, rich and poor, master and slave, maid and wife, simple and brave, young and old, wise and foolish, lout and learned man, shall see his whole estate, words, thoughts, and deeds, in this mirror." Ovid would have been bewildered and amused at seeing himself portrayed in the rôle of servant of humanity. Many interpreters were disposed to show discrimination. The figure of the bee is frequent: as from bitter flowers and poisonous thistles it gathers honey, so from the vilest stories valuable lessons may be gained. Again Golding says:

Now when thou readst of God or man in stone, or beast, or tree
 It is a mirror of thyself thyne owne estate too see.
 For under feyned names of Goddes it was the poets guyse
 The vice and faults of all estates too taunt in convert wyse
 And likewyse too extoll with prayse such things as doo deserve.

There is a mass of evidence to establish the great vogue of this curious phase of Ovid's career through literature. The toleration of many critics, perhaps even the enthusiastic admiration of some, were conditioned upon the plausible allegorical interpretation of large sections of the *Ars Amatoria* and the *Amores*, of parts even of the *Heroides* and the *Metamorphoses*. Perhaps the popularity of their author would have been appreciably less widespread during the period under discussion, had he been correctly understood.

We have space for only a few words about Ovid and education. From the twelfth century to the present day he has held a considerable place in school curricula. It has been most important in the great public schools of France and England, in which the *Metamorphoses*, the *Tristia*, and the *Fasti* were studied. They

appear in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth forms of Elizabethan grammar schools and even in the colleges. Verse composition, so prominent a part of English school training in Latin for centuries, took Ovid as its model; most of the successful Latin verse of French and English writers assumes the form of the Ovidian elegiac couplet. It has been effective not only in developing ability in literary composition but in cultivating appreciation of Latin poetry and of general literature. Montaigne's first love of books came to him from reading the myths in the *Metamorphoses*, when he was eight years old. Tradition says that he knew no language but Latin until he was six. He was ready then to profit by and enjoy the early reading of Ovid.

The nineteenth century is the dark age, in which the spirit of our poet is banished. Literature and criticism and scholarship were engrossed in Vergil and Horace. Ovid was relegated to the schools to be a textbook in mythology. But the twentieth century may have another story to tell. Is it witnessing an Ovidian renaissance? Or do Horace and Vergil still totally eclipse their late Augustan contemporary? In four leading critical studies in which the history of Latin poetry is treated, appearing between 1894 and 1911, those of Schanz, Ribbeck, Plessis, and LaMarre, Vergil is given a total of 606 pages, Horace 560, and Ovid 541.* These aggregates give slight comfort to those who would ignore or even deprecate Ovid. English and American critics allow relatively less consideration to him than do the continental. Victorian England is still somewhat more than an interesting literary tradition. But the scholarly work of Palmer on the *Heroides* and of Owen on the *Tristia*, the brilliant general interpretations of

* The bibliographical data for the works mentioned in this paragraph are as follows: Martin Schanz, *Geschichte der Römischen Litteratur*: Munich, C. H. Beck (1911); Otto Ribbeck, *Geschichte der Römischen Dichtung*: Stuttgart, J. H. Cotta (1894); Frédéric Plessis, *La Poésie Latine*: Paris, C. Klincksieck (1909); Clovis LaMarre, *Histoire de la Littérature Latine au Temps d'Auguste*: Paris, Jules LaMarre (1907); Arthur Palmer, *Ovidi Heroides*: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1898); S. G. Owen, *P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristium Libri V* and *P. Ovidi Nasonis Tristium Liber Secundus*: Oxford, Clarendon Press (1889 and 1924); and Gilbert Murray, *Essays and Addresses*: London, George Allen and Unwin (1921), pp. 115-17.

Rand, the beautiful yet discriminating tribute of Gilbert Murray, may be mentioned to show that the present generation has not completely "turned its blind spot toward Ovid," or rather that it is beginning to alter the direction of its vision.

He was a poet [says Murray] utterly in love with poetry: not perhaps with the soul of poetry — to be in love with souls is a feeble and somewhat morbid condition — but with the real face and voice and body and clothes and accessories of poetry. He loved the actual technique of the verse. He loved most the whole world of mimesis which he made.

We place this by the side of Palgrave's estimate: "Amongst world-famous poets Ovid was perhaps the least true to the soul of poetry," of which Murray was probably thinking.

With apologies to classical scholars we present the following for what it is worth: In *Vanity Fair* for April, 1928, there appears a "Complete Handbook of Opinion" in the form of a compendium of evaluations of the great, old and new, made by ten distinguished modern critics. Of the 217 entries 66 are rated higher, and 150 equal to or below Ovid. The rating is on the scale of 25. Ovid's average grade is 10.9.

Ripert⁶ in his *Ovide*, a precious gem of very recent literary appreciation, in the last chapter, "The Glory of the Poet: Ovid in Our Own Day," convinces us that, at least in so far as France is concerned, the spirit of Ovid, never dead, is flowering again, and that we may perhaps anticipate another *aetas Ovidiana*. Other recent notable French works are those of La Faye, *The Metamorphoses of Ovid and Their Greek Models*, and Mirmont, *The Youth of Ovid*. A rapid survey of Bursian's *Jahresbericht* will show that this many-sided genius has provided and still provides fertile soil for the cultivation of scholarship, particularly German scholarship.

This paper has aimed to give a few interesting appreciations, culled from the last few centuries, together with casual comment.

⁶ The works mentioned in this paragraph are Emile Ripert, *Ovide, Poète de l'Amour, des Dieux et de l'Exil*: Paris, Armand Colin (1921); Georges La Faye, *Les Metamorphoses d' Ovide et Leurs Modèles Grecs*: Paris, Germer Baillière et Cie. (1904); and H. de Mirmont, *La Jeunesse d' Ovide*: Paris, Albert Fontemoing (1905).

In all it is but a jot of the evidence which must be considered carefully in order to plot the curve of the poet's vogue from his own day to this. Next year will be celebrated the twentieth centenary of Vergil's birth. In 1958 will occur Ovid's twentieth centenary. Perhaps the hope of Ripert may come to pass, which is expressed in an eloquent passage in the final paragraph of his little volume. I conclude by quoting it in English:

May the present be the opening of a new era for Ovid. The Middle Ages were too prone to treat him as a moralizer, which he can scarcely be called; the classic period thought of him as a poet of the salon, which he is only occasionally; let us look upon him with other eyes; let us discover in him a Rome that is friendly, gay, charming, and witty; let us see the Mediterranean fascination of his mythical stories. Rescuing him from his mediaeval moralizers, from the preciousity of the seventeenth century and the gallantry of the eighteenth, forgetting that he has furnished themes for opera and painting, we can love him in the plenitude of his Graeco-Roman genius as that Latin poet who in some respects approaches nearest in spirit to our own day. In a sense that will endure and that accords to him the glory of which his heart dreamed so much, he is linked with the Mediterranean landscape, with the fountain over which the narcissus bends, with the sounding rocks where echo speaks, with the course of the sun, whose rays still shine as ardently as those which consumed Phaethon, with the spider's web on which drops of morning dew gleam like glittering flies, with the azure in which birds are lost in their search for the golden fleece, with the nightingale's song on winter evenings, with the lovely twilight scene, where in the waning light trees and rocks, disenchanted by shadow and dream, resume before our forbidden eyes the human forms they may have had before their metamorphoses.

GREEK IN A SECONDARY SCHOOL.¹

By JOSIAH BRIDGE
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As we members of a classical association are wont to dwell on words uttered over two thousand years ago as more living than many uttered today, I make no apology for taking you back a brief period of between forty and fifty years, after a big battle had been fought which resulted in making Greek no longer requisite for the Arts degree in the oldest college of this land. The scene is Massachusetts Hall in Cambridge, the occasion a ΦBK annual dinner at commencement time. President Eliot is in the chair and he has called on William Watson Goodwin for an after-dinner speech. Professor Goodwin has risen, tall and venerable, almost patriarchal with his full white beard, and has delivered his protest against giving the Bachelor of Arts degree to one who has not had Greek — which shall continue his protest as long as he has breath for utterance. Young college graduates, pupils of Goodwin and devotees of Greek, with their senses dulled to the significance of the situation because of their conviction that Greek will continue to prevail through its own merits, listen with apparent apathy — the very men who will wake in future years to a realization that the scene has all the dramatic pathos of Kent's appeal to Lear:

Revoke thy doom;
Or, while I can vent clamor from my throat,
I'll tell thee thou dost evil.

Let me try your patience further by recalling from that time some words of an opponent of compulsory Greek and also a few

¹ Read before the New England Classical Association in Boston, April 19, 1929.

statements of a devoted champion of the study. The *Popular Science Monthly*² published an address on the Greek Question by a leading professor of chemistry which contained the following statements: "Let me begin by asserting that the responsible advocates of an expansion of the old academic system do not wish in the least degree to diminish the study of the Greek language, the Greek literature or the Greek art. On the contrary they wish to encourage such studies by every legitimate means." After paying tribute to the improved methods in classical training, he adds: "To compare German Literature with the Greek — or, what is worse, French Literature with the Latin — as means of culture implies, as it seems to me, a forgetfulness of the true spirit of literary culture." While he again affirms: "We do not ask for any change which in our opinion will diminish the number of those coming to the college with a classical preparation by a single man," his real point is in the following statements: "Regard the change with favor or disfavor as you please, the fact remains that the natural sciences have become the chief factor of our modern civilization." We should not make "a small amount of Greek" an obstacle to the scientific side "in the way of their advancement, or of that social recognition to which they feel themselves entitled as educated men." A very significant statement, that last.

Before making further comment on these assertions of Professor Cooke, let me quote the words of a strong advocate of Greek, written in the same decade, but published less than two years ago. On March twenty-third, 1885, Charles Eliot Norton³ wrote to Mr. F. A. Tupper:

I think that a knowledge of Greek thought and life and of the arts in which the Greeks expressed their thought and sentiment, essential to high culture. A man may know everything else, but without this knowledge he remains ignorant of the best intellectual and moral achievement of his own race.

But I cannot share the fears of those who fancy that if Greek is not required for admission to college the study of it will decline. I believe that

² Vol. III (1883), 1-12.

³ Cf. *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* for Nov. 24, 1927.

Greek letters and arts will always have an irresistible attraction for the best minds.

"Greece and her foundations are
Built below the tide of war."

Were a part of the object of this paper to give reasons for the study of Greek it would be fitting to quote largely from the report that accompanied this letter. As it is, I merely repeat the closing words as a permanent expression of what is axiomatic to a classical association:

The best work of the Greeks still remains the best that men have accomplished, and in spite of the brief term of their glory, their precepts and examples are still, as was said nearly three hundred years ago, "the approved canons to direct the mind that endeavoreth virtue."

Thus it is that the Greeks are always modern and contemporary as no other historic people are. To gain more exact and complete knowledge of them is a matter of practical concern for the actual generation. However much the world advances, their teaching does not grow antiquated, and what Plutarch in his day said of the Athenians is true now as then: "There is such a new bloom on their works, always preserving the look of something untouched by time, as if they had some perennial spirit and undying vitality mingled in them."

Returning to the quoted words of Professor Cooke, it is interesting to consider in the light of present facts his statement that "we do not ask for any change which in our opinion will diminish the number of those coming to college with a classical preparation by a single man." How many high schools, which fifty years ago were offering Greek, have now shut that door of opportunity to all their boys and girls?

Professor Norton's rejection of the fear that the study of Greek will decline if it is not required for admission to college, because Greek will always have an irresistible attraction for the best minds, rests on a different basis. That faith looks beyond the present depression of the study to a time when the attraction can be felt by all the best minds, because the path to its influence will be open and there will be a full supply of fit guides to help on the way. Meanwhile must we not admit that the refusal of so many high schools to give their boys and girls the opportunity to start

in school the study of the best that men have accomplished in poetry and prose presents a challenge to every classical association to some definite action?

A glance at the experience of one private school may show some of the difficulties we must overcome, also some sources from which help might be expected that even add to our difficulties.

The school to which I refer is a private school for girls. Ten years ago this school offered two courses: one, a so-called general course; the other, the college preparatory. Today it offers only the college preparatory course. Ten years ago it had a classical teacher ready to give Greek to all who demanded it—but no real Greek department. Today, with a head that believes in Greek and a classical department that advocates the study, a fair percentage of all who can take Greek are electing that subject.

The method used is as follows. During the summer letters are sent by the director of studies to all pupils, stating their prescribed courses and suggesting their electives. Normally girls who would naturally graduate from the school in three years have all their subjects prescribed but one. These girls are told they may elect either ancient history, a College Board subject, or they may begin Greek or they may begin German. They are advised to postpone electing the history course on the ground that experience has shown that they will carry that course with better results when more mature. Pupils who have been successful in their start in Latin are advised to elect Greek as the highest cultural course. They are also told that, as German is required in some colleges, some knowledge of German at entrance will prove beneficial. Many of these girls decide on their elective in the summer; some wait until they reach school in the fall before deciding.

When the girls come with their parents to school in the fall, they first see the resident head-mistress, who appreciates the value of the full classical course but also realizes the practical advantage of the German course in insuring success in college. They next see the director of studies with whom their course is finally settled. Although the director of studies teaches Greek, in fairness to the other departments he is careful not to overstress his own prefer-

ence. The outcome at present is that there is a respectable beginners' class in ancient history, in Greek, and in German.

It is a great help in building a complete classical department that the school has always favored the full four-point Latin course, culminating in Vergil. It recognizes that much of the reason for studying Latin is lost if Vergil is omitted. It feels that a severe blow has been dealt higher education by those colleges which admit to their Arts degree candidates without any first-hand knowledge of Vergil. For Vergil naturally leads to Homer. So fully does this school realize this situation that it does not allow any teacher to give a Vergil course who is not well grounded in Homer. And is it not natural that the schools should look to the colleges for help in encouraging what is admitted to be the highest literary course? Yet listen to this instance of our failure to pull together.

Last fall the father of one of my pupils attended the opening exercises of the college he expects his daughter to enter next year. He was much impressed by the President's opening sermon, urging the girls to aim high. Next day he had an interview with the representative of the college entrance committee, who strongly advised him to have his daughter enter on three-point Latin, dropping Vergil. "In other words, aim low," was our obvious retort. He felt the force of this appeal, backed as it was by other reasons; and the daughter is now doing well in Vergil, with enjoyment on her part and gratification on her parents'! Yet you will notice that the school had to fight here alone, even with some opposition from the college. Is it too much for schools which are endeavoring to offer full preparation in the classics to expect that the college entrance authorities shall be able and willing to show their candidates the advisability of continuing their classical training?

But our present problem is with the secondary schools. Place Greek on the proper footing in secondary schools, and the college problem will be simplified. For, in the first place, is not Dr. Macaulay⁴ right in asserting that the only proper place to start the foundation in Greek is in the preparatory school?

⁴ Cf. *Classical Studies*: London, John Murray (1925), 49 f.

Greek [he writes] cannot be satisfactorily acquired in Universities or theological colleges without school-grounding. Colleges must be fed with prepared material if they are to fulfil their own function. It is the bed-rock principle of national education that it should be a single organism, of which every part performs its own function. In that organism the Universities have their function, the Schools theirs. There must be continuity, but no confusion. To set a University to do the work of a secondary school is as wasteful as it would be to set a secondary school to do the work of a University. This applies to Greek as it does to English or to history or to science.

Can this Association as an organization do anything to promote the study of Greek in secondary schools, and consequently in colleges? Of course it is assumed that each of our 532 members is advocating the full classical course in his or her neighborhood, which in itself is of untold weight in affecting public opinion. But can we not concordedly do more than we are doing?

Perhaps in facing this question we may find the experience of Great Britain helpful. Dr. Mackail has made some of us more or less familiar with the main features of the *Report* of the Prime Minister's Committee on the Classics in Education.⁵ Out of the fifty-seven recommendations of this committee he has selected three of prime importance. These three are, first, that Latin shall be "a normal part of the curriculum for all pupils in public and secondary schools"; second, that Latin shall be "retained or reinstated (as the case may be) in all university art courses"; and third, that "knowledge of Greek" shall "be required from all teachers of Latin."

The committee also advises that "measures be devised by the Board of Education" towards giving Greek a footing or preventing its disappearance in schools. "Here," writes Dr. Mackail (*op. cit.*, 26-28), "we come to the kernel of the Greek problem, and here unfortunately the report gives no guidance." I cannot do better than quote Dr. Mackail at length on this question. He says:

There needed no ghost to tell us that the Board of Education should devise measures for retaining or introducing Greek in schools. . . . But

⁵ *Apud Classical Studies*, 22.

when we (or the Board) ask "What measures?" the detailed recommendations of the committee may be scrutinized in vain for an answer. But if Latin were required as an integral subject in the curricula of secondary schools and in university art courses, and if adequate knowledge of Greek were required in all teachers of Latin, the naturalization of the classics in education would be secured. This cannot be effected immediately; it is idle to imagine that the situation can be retrieved by a stroke of the pen. But if it is a fixed and defined aim, continuous and accelerating progress can be made towards its substantial attainment. Supply will create demand and demand create supply. Departmental regulations are little more than a codification of usage; but that little more may be all-important in directing movement. A generation hence it may be hoped that usage in both these matters will be so general that it can if necessary be registered in enactment. But if this is to happen, there must be the most persistent and strenuous effort on the part of the classical association, not to cry its own wares, which is easy and useless, but to bring about further improvement in the spirit and method of classical teaching and in the qualifications to be looked for, as a mere matter of honesty and self-respect, in teachers of the classics. The rest will be done by growing public appreciation of the results, in the product of the schools, of the strengthening, enlarging and vitalizing influence which Latin and Greek, or Latin alone as taught by competent scholars to whom the classics really mean something, can exert on the average boy or girl. A large proportion of the working classes "are genuinely anxious to get the best possible education for their children," and, as to what that education is, most of them "accept unquestioningly the advice of the teacher." As has been said of them in another sphere, "they don't know what they want, but they insist on having it." When they do know, they will see that they get it. A free nation has the education sooner or later that it wants to have.

These comments of Dr. Mackail are surely suggestive to us as a classical association. We can, if we will, as a body approve of the three cardinal recommendations of the committee, and its advice about devising measures towards promoting the study of Greek in schools. We can as an association make the most persistent and strenuous efforts to bring further improvement in the spirit and method of classical training. But must we merely wait meanwhile for growing public appreciation of the results to bring about the desired change, or is there some line of action which this Association can take at once to help remove certain prejudices which

stand in the way of giving boys and girls the opportunity to begin the study of Greek in our public high schools?

In the hope of getting light on this question I recently obtained an interview with the Commissioner of Education of the state in which I teach. His attitude was friendly; he gave his own opinion that "in a school large enough to afford it there is no reason why Greek should not have its chance with other languages." But he doubted if there was anything this Association could do to change conditions. He pointed out that it was not a question of the high-school principal, but of the several school boards acting through the superintendents. The first impression from this interview was not one of encouragement. But further reflection suggested the possibility that he was really pointing out a line of possible advance. Might it not prove helpful if this Association should prepare a brief statement of the handicap in their college course suffered by some of the best minds among the pupils in the public high schools by the neglect of their school boards to offer them a fitting foundation in Greek? And might not this statement be sent at least to the superintendents of schools in the large cities in New England where Greek is not now taught in the public schools — with the assurance that a frank expression of opinion from the superintendent would be regarded as a favor by this Association?

This is not, in Dr. Mackail's words, "crying our own wares," but an attempt to "open" for boys and girls in our high schools, a "gate," now shut, leading "to an enlarged and ennobled life."

If this correspondence is conducted with the sole object of causing different bodies interested in education to come to a better mutual understanding, it is hard to see how it can do any harm; it may help clear the path. At any rate we should not be good followers of Plato if we shrank from putting forth the effort because so little will result. "It is true," Plato says, "that nothing men do is worth great and serious effort; yet we surely must make serious effort. That's our hard luck."

Notes

[All contributions in the form of notes for this department should be sent direct to John A. Scott, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.)

"CAESAR'S ARMY" IN MAY, 59 B.C.

I have followed with considerable interest the discussion elicited by the effort of Professor Sage in the *American Journal of Philology* **XLIX** (1918), 367-82 to date late in 59 B.C. the Vatinian Law whereby Caesar gained that proconsulship which spelled the end of the Roman Republic. His fixing of the law later than Mommsen's date of March first was denied by Professor Frank in the *American Journal of Philology* **LI** (1920), 276 f and by Professor Marsh in his *The Founding of the Roman Empire*¹ and again more in detail in the latter's article, "The Chronology of Caesar's Consulship"; cf. the *CLASSICAL JOURNAL* **xxii** (1927), 504-24. Both of these writers lay great stress upon a sentence in *Ad. Att.* **II**, 16, 2, where Cicero repeats Pompey's brusque dismissal early in May of the Conservatives' protest against the passage of Caesar's second agrarian law: *Oppressos vos tenebo exercitu Caesaris* ("I shall hold you down," as Marsh translates, "by the army of Caesar").

Now both Frank and Marsh are convinced that it was a real army which Caesar had in Rome for the last eight months of his consulship. Frank (p. 277) is temperate in the possible use Caesar may have made of it: "Indeed Caesar's great haste to secure for himself the Gallic province immediately after Metellus' death was determined in part by the knowledge that this command would place at his disposal strong bands of soldiers at Rome with which he could at an emergency overawe the senate." It remained for Marsh in the article in this *JOURNAL* to find the real part this army played in Caesar's legislation. According to him (p. 522) Caesar

¹ University of Texas Studies, No. 1 (1922), 277 f; second edition: New York, Oxford University Press (1927), 272-74.

uses this army to coerce the senate and so become "a military dictator subverting the Roman constitution by armed force." The "complete independence of both senate and people," which the triumvirs showed, "can . . . only have been due to the support of an army." And passing to the outbreak of the Civil War (p. 524), he adds: "It was not the second consulship of Caesar that Pompey dreaded at first, but the repetition of the military dictatorship of 59."

Professor Sage had, of course, observed this passage in Cicero, but did not in 1918 feel that the army mentioned by Pompey was an actual army which Caesar already had at his disposal in or about Rome. "We need not therefore conclude," he says (p. 378), "that as early as May Caesar had a province. All that can certainly be inferred is that he did not intend to have *silvae callesque*." But in his review of the second edition of Marsh's book,² while discussing also Marsh's article noted above, Sage appears to be weakening and on the point of conceding that Caesar had an actual army as early as May. Although he "suspects" that Marsh has been misled by "his acceptance at face value of Cicero's statements regarding the unpopularity of the triumvirs in 59," he yet grants that the "military tyranny" of Caesar, while "less certain" because of Marsh's overconfidence in the temperamental Cicero, is "still far from improbable."

If Marsh's picture of Caesar's consulship is the correct one or if Caesar's conduct of affairs in 59 B.C. even remotely resembled a "military dictatorship," then many a page of the history of Rome for the decade after 60 B.C. must be rewritten. We must present the Caesar of 59 as little more than a cleverer Saturninus or a luckier Catiline. But I suspect that both Frank and Marsh have taken the words of Pompey too literally. In reading recently the earlier letters of Cicero, for another purpose but with the words of Pompey in mind, I observed the following uses of *exercitus*, which I list here, drawing for our convenience upon the excellent translation by Shuckburgh.³

In connection with Cicero's attack in 60 B.C. on the agrarian

² Cf. the CLASSICAL JOURNAL XXIII (1928), 311 f.

³ *The Letters of Cicero*: London, George Bell and Sons (1904).

law of Flavius, sponsored by Pompey, he writes to Atticus (I, 19, 4) : *Ego autem magna cum agrariorum gratia confirmabam omnium privatorum possessiones — is enim est noster exercitus hominum, ut tute scis, locupletium* ("... for, as you know, the landed gentry form the bulk of our party's power").

Ad Att. II, 19, 4 (July, 59) : *Videor mihi nostrum illum consularem exercitum bonorum omnium, etiam sat bonorum, habere firmissimum* ("supported by the same phalanx").

In these two passages we find an "army" which was under the command of the senate, as real an army and as real a factor in Roman politics of this period as Caesar's, no more and no less.

Once again *exercitus* appears in the letters of these years; cf. *Ad Att. II, 22, 1* (July, 59) : *Cum videt quo sit in odio status hic rerum, in eos qui haec egerunt impetum facturus videtur; cum autem rursus opes eorum et exercitus recordatur, convertit se in bonos.* Here is Caesar's "army" again, to comfort Professors Frank and Marsh, but unfortunately Pompey also has one. If Caesar held his army by virtue of the Vatinian Law, by what law did Pompey hold his, Pompey who had already celebrated his triumph?

I am not unmindful of the fact that in the crucial passage Cicero is supposedly quoting Pompey's own words; but the other passages from Cicero show that in the language of contemporary Roman politics *exercitus* could mean no more than the "forces" each party could muster. If we would see the sources from which such forces were drawn in the bedlam of Roman politics, we can turn again to Cicero (*Ad Quintum Fratrem I, 2, 16*), where he again uses a military term, this time *manus*, to describe those who will rally to his support (in October, 59) against the attack of Clodius: *Omnes et se et suos amicos, clientis, libertos, servos, pecunias denique suas pollicentur. Nostra antiqua manus bonorum ardet studio nostri atque amore* ("Our old regiment of loyalists is warm in its zeal and attachment to me").

It was of such classes of people that Caesar's "army" was composed; but at the time the forces of the party at Caesar's command may have been disciplined enough to have the appearance

almost of an army and so call forth the term *exercitus* from Pompey, used half figuratively, half literally. For the bulk of the attendants of Caesar must have been drawn from Pompey's veterans, who were waiting around Rome for their promised lands. Even Gaius Gracchus in times of peace could muster five thousand or more followers.

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TACITUS, *AGRICOLA* XXXIII, 6

Quod ad me attinet, iam pridem mihi decretum est neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse. Proinde et honesta mors turpi vita potior, et incolumentis ac decus eodem loco sita sunt.

This is a quotation toward the close of Agricola's speech to his soldiers just before the battle at Mons Graupius. The difficulty involved in the second sentence is clearly indicated in the note of the Furneaux-Anderson edition:¹ "Logically the conclusion introduced by *proinde* is *incolumentis . . . sunt*, and *honesta mors*, etc. is a subordinate thought (explaining *decus*), but the transposition advocated by Nipperdey (*Rh. Mus.* 18, 364) is unnecessary." While agreeing that no transposition is required, it seems a heroic measure to try to dispose of the phrase *honesta . . . potior* as an explanation of a word (*decus*) embedded in the following clause.

Another solution is suggested by Plautus, *Trinummus* 339 f:

*De mendico male meretur qui ei dat quod edit aut bibat;
nam et illud quod dat perdit, et illi prodit vitam ad miseriam.*

Here is an exactly similar situation. The speaker says that one does a beggar an evil turn in giving him food and drink, for he thus prolongs the man's wretched life. The intervening detail *illud . . . perdit* is quite irrelevant.

The difficulty in both passages is solved simply by rendering *et . . . et* "not only . . . but (also)"; e.g., Agricola says to his men: "I have long since come to the conclusion that the back neither of an army nor of its commander is safe. Therefore, not only is a

¹ Oxford, Clarendon Press (1922).

praiseworthy death to be preferred to a disgraceful life, but safety and honor lie in the same course." Careless syntactical prominence given to matters that strictly are beside the point is no uncommon thing; cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 1, 38 (*Itaque credo*, etc.), and *Pro Rab. Perd.* 18 (*Cum indicat*, etc.).

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SALLUST, *BELLUM CATILINAE* 52, 31

*Vos de crudelissimis parricidis quid statuatis cunctamini?
Videlicet cetera vita eorum huic sceleri obstat.*

Cato is urging the death penalty for the accomplices of Catiline. As a whole, his speech bristles with sarcasm and irony; and failure to take that fact into account has caused the editors generally to miss a very obviously possible interpretation of the passage above cited.

Caesar has argued that it is a crime (i.e. *scelus*) to put citizens to death in summary fashion. In urging immediate action, Cato apparently adopts sarcastically the word that his opponents would apply to the execution of the prisoners: "Without doubt their past record stands in the way of [forbids] this 'crime'!" i.e. "their actions up to this time have been so exemplary that we ought to go slowly in the matter of killing them." If the speech is read entire, it will be obvious that this interpretation is exactly in line with Cato's temper on this occasion. And if the words are read aloud, it is manifest that the irony can be made perfectly clear by tone of voice.

In his *Pharsalia*, the poet Lucan appears as an ardent Pompeian; and he is distressed at the thought that Pompey's body lies neglected in Egypt where he fell at the hands of assassins. Pompey was there buried after some fashion, and it was counted a crime (*scelus*) to disturb the remains of the dead. Yet Lucan wishes that he had a commission to remove them:

*Imperet hoc nobis utinam scelus et velit uti
nostro Roma sinu! (Phars. VIII, 842 f)*

Here is a service in which Lucan would glory, but he uses a word

(*scelus*) that is natural in the mouth of those who hold for the ceremonial law. Schrevelius appends this note: *Mihi honori et pio officio futuro, quod illi pro scelere habent, inquit poeta.* The passage provides a striking parallel for the phrase from Sallust, as it is interpreted above.

But the editors everywhere assume that *huic sceleri* in Sallust refers to the guilt of the conspirators, which involves a real difficulty in regard to *obstat*, since the fundamental force of that verb is "stand in the way of," "obstruct," or the like. This difficulty is apt to be glossed over by assigning to *obstat* some arbitrary and unauthorized meaning. In case *huic sceleri* is so interpreted, the explanation must rest upon the same basis as that for *facto* in the following passage, which is sometimes cited in this connection: *Atrox visum id facinus patribus plebique, sed recens meritum facto obstabat. Tamen raptus in ius ad regem* (Livy 1, 26, 5). There is reference here to the story of the Horatii and the Curiatii, the victor having just killed his sister for lamenting the death of one of his adversaries. The general sense of the passage seems to be that the whole people was stirred by the murder, but the recent service rendered by Horatius gave them pause; however, they carried him away to the king. If this is the meaning, then *facto* does not signify simply "deed," but rather "(punishment for) the deed."¹ On this basis, *obstabat* has its normal force.

It may be possible in like manner to interpret *huic sceleri obstat* "their past good record stands in the way of (the punishment of) this crime." Livy's fondness for poetic color makes this sort of composition more natural;² for Sallust it seems less so. Every difficulty is met if, in accord with the spirit of the speech put into the mouth of Cato by Sallust, we recognize in *huic sceleri* a sarcastic reference to the death penalty.

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¹ So the critical note in the Oxford Text of Conway and Walters on this passage.

² The Conway-Walters edition hesitates to trust the text fully.

Book Reviews

CARLETON A. WHEELER AND OTHERS, *Enrollment in the Foreign Languages in the Secondary Schools and Colleges of the United States* (Publications of the American and Canadian Committees on Modern Languages, Vol. 4): New York, Macmillan Company (1928). Pp. xxi + 453.

The American and Canadian Committees on Modern Languages have extended their "study of instruction in those languages in its numerical aspects" to include secondary Latin, because of the number of problems which all foreign languages have in common. The purpose is not to "flatter professional pride" but to afford a statistical "basis for the interpretation . . . of other data."

The most valid data used in the study are derived from questionnaire returns under rigid scientific scrutiny, and backed by the prestige of the United States Bureau of Education, supplemented by data from the Bureau itself for schools which made no questionnaire returns. Adding the estimated enrollments from schools for which only indirect or estimated data were available, they find that in the spring of 1925 the public secondary schools (including grades seven and eight) enrolled about 794,000 in Latin and 784,000 in modern languages out of a total enrollment of about 3,860,000. About 21,600 of the Latin and about 33,400 of the modern languages are in grades seven and eight. As compared with the figures of the Classical Investigation of 1921-22, Latin seems to have about held its own in absolute numbers, while the modern languages have somewhat increased.

The chief classifications of the data are according to type of school (four-year, junior, junior-senior, and senior) and size of community, to size of school, to language combinations offered, and to grade and year of study. In each, tables are given for the

nation as a whole, for the eight regional groupings, and for the several states. All are based on the 10,887 schools from which questionnaires were returned. This basis yields higher percentages for modern languages, and lower for Latin, than the estimated totals for all schools, since the schools for which returns are not included are likely to offer Latin if any foreign language. Additional tables for the colleges are much simpler, and do not include Latin.

In the nation as a whole, Latin prevails over the other foreign languages in enrollment, but takes second rank to French in New England and to Spanish in the Southwest and California. French closely rivals Latin in junior high schools. Enrollment in modern languages varies as a rule directly with the size of the school and of the community, while with Latin the reverse tends to be true. When one language only is offered, it is French, Spanish, or Latin (rarely Norse). When two or more are offered, French is one, except in the Southwest, where Spanish and Latin are often offered together.

The tabulations for grade and year of study are samplings, made necessary by the immense bulk of the total data. They give the enrollment in selected types of school in each year of the course in each language in ten representative states, the relative prevalence of courses of diverse lengths, and percentages by grades for French, Spanish, and Latin, with additional total enrollments in languages of minor popularity. Further tables show similar data for private schools.

Only the utmost patience, as well as sure insight into essentials, could have arranged such an appalling mass of data in significant form. The most careful scientific method has been used in collecting and organizing the data, and the greatest caution is observed to preclude the drawing of conclusions which the data do not warrant. This has sometimes, as in the Introduction, led to a wavering amongst different bases of comparison, which, while always stated, makes the whole matter confusing, unless it is carefully read. This is sound science but diminishes the practical usefulness of the study for the nontechnical reader.

There are remarkably few mechanical errors. The reviewer notes only "data was obtainable" (p. 12) — and this in a foreign language study which includes Latin!

WREN JONES GRINSTEAD

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V. A. C. HENMON, *Achievement Tests in the Modern Foreign Languages* (Publications of the American and Canadian Committees on Modern Languages, Vol. 5): New York, Macmillan Company (1929). Pp. xxvi+363.

If any defense of the educational use of standard tests were longer needed, this volume, together with Wood's closely related *New York Experiments with New-Type Modern Language Tests*, would surely furnish it. The introductory chapter summarizes the uses of tests, the steps in their construction, the criteria of a standard test, and the language capacities to be tested, and lists the tests sponsored by the Committees. The succeeding chapters describe and criticize in detail the technique used in the construction of the tests and the composition scales (Chapters II-V), and give the results of the administration of the Alpha tests in the United States, Canada, and England (Chapters VI-VII), with additional chapters on English tests in the French schools of Quebec (VIII) and on other tests sponsored by the Committees (IX), and a summary of other studies on factors conditioning achievement (X). Appendices give a Bibliography of published tests in modern language, a comparison of two French vocabulary tests, and lists of the cooperating schools.

In the construction of the tests, the precautions required by scientific method are discussed in detail, and the limitations set by the nature of the technique or the number of subjects are frankly recognized. The chief "capacities" (abilities?) selected for testing are reading, written composition, and knowledge of vocabulary and grammar. Preliminary try-outs included a determination of the reliability and administrative feasibility of various forms of response. As a result, in most of the tests the recall

or completion technique was discarded for the recognition, in the various forms of multiple choice, true-false, and selection.

The American Council Alpha Tests, with which most of the study deals, include tests of vocabulary, grammar, silent reading, and composition, for French, German, and Spanish, with accompanying scales for rating the compositions. The application resulted in the establishment of norms, which represent only the present attainment, not the ideal nor even the practicable. Perhaps the most striking survey result is the astounding variability of schools and classes, which extends through all the abilities in all the languages measured; although the smaller numbers make the results in German inconclusive. Some schools in the third or fourth semester are no better than the median of the first semester. Or, putting it another way, some schools accomplish in a given time what others require twice as much time to accomplish. Under such conditions, the futility of attempting to measure attainment in terms of time spent in the classroom is obvious. The need of a reclassification of pupils on a basis of actual attainment is emphasized. Part of the difficulty is attributed to defective curriculum practices or lack of balance in objectives.

While the book is written primarily for the reader trained in elementary statistical technique, the explanations of the use of the measures are in the main clear and practical. The accounts of measures of reliability (pp. 82 f) should perhaps be given when the measures are first employed. The methods of determining norms are not made clear. In most instances the norm is the nearest integer to the median, but in some instances (e. g. in fifth semester college Spanish grammar, p. 129) it is more than two points off. In Table 1, p. 15, the measure of central tendency is called the mean, while in the accompanying explanation it is termed the median. In the tests themselves (e. g., p. 25) validity is sometimes impaired by some extraneous hint. The discussion is decidedly repetitious; which, however, may be a hortatory necessity. At any rate, all these are but spots on the sun.

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G. M. RUCH, *The Objective or New-Type Examination*, an Introduction to Educational Measurement: Chicago, Scott, Foresman and Company (1929). Pp. 478. \$2.20.

The subject of objective or new-type examinations is treated in this one volume in considerable detail by an author who has devoted much of the last ten years to research and experimentation in this field. He has discussed the various types, new and old, and analyzed the arguments for and against each, showing throughout his preference for the newer types. The criteria of a good examination, he believes, are found most frequently in the new-type tests; and at the same time some of the glaring faults of the essay types are eliminated. Although it is conceded that the original essay type of examination will always have certain functions in schools, the objective tests are favored for general use because of validity, reliability, ease in scoring, range of sampling, and other valuable features.

The book supplies in convenient arrangement the information needed by one desirous of constructing new-type examinations in any subject. Of considerable value are the instructions for building an objective test, the many models of tests in a wide range of subjects, and the comparisons of standardized and nonstandardized tests. The explanations of methods of handling tests and the rules for their use are quite explicit and will greatly simplify the problems of those teachers who use them. The definition of terms used in testing and the illustrations of the technique of testing make Parts I and II of this book of considerable value.

A large section deals with statistical problems, experimentation, and theories in testing and thus encourages the reader to further study and comparisons. The generous annotated Bibliography of related publications enables one to enlarge his viewpoint by selected readings in the line of his main interest without the necessity of poring through a mass of extraneous material in order to find the articles of special relevance to his problem.

This volume contributes much to the field already entered upon by the author's previous books and articles; however, the author has evidently seized this opportunity to refute the opposing arguments of his critics with some gusto. There is still room for

research and experimentation before the opinions of any investigator are accepted without question. Dr. Ruch is continuing his research in several directions connected with testing with the co-operation of skillfully organized assistants, each a specialist in his field, and undoubtedly will soon have available several quite interesting as well as definite conclusions.

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JOHN BURNET, *Platonism*, Volume V of the Sather Classical Lectures: Berkeley, University of California Press (1928). Pp. 130.

The most startling thesis in this study of Platonism is the author's contention that the so-called Platonic theory of ideas is not Platonic but Socratic. This is part of the late Professor Burnet's answer to the perennial puzzle of Greek philosophy, What is Platonism? The root of the difficulty is, of course, that Plato's written work is almost entirely in the form of drama. Most of these dramas present Socrates as the leading character. Thence naturally arose the moot question in modern Platonic scholarship, How far is the Platonic Socrates also the historical Socrates?

Campbell and other Platonic scholars of the past generation tended to regard Socrates as the mouthpiece of Plato, interpreting differences between views in different dialogues to be evidence of a development in Plato's thought. Professor Shorey regards the problem as incapable of objective solution.¹ Professor Burnet, on the other hand, maintains that the Platonic Socrates is very largely the historic Socrates. Apparent differences in the Platonic points of view become for him the differences between the real Socrates and the real Plato.

The author defines Platonism as the doctrine taught in the Academy, where, among sympathetic and qualified listeners, Plato expressed those opinions about which he was most in ear-

¹ Cf. "Plato" in *Philosophers and Scientists*: New York, Doubleday and McClure (1899), 177.

nest. Professor Burnet dates the founding of the Academy tentatively at about 380 B.C. Hence those Platonic writings produced at or after that time assume much greater importance for the interpretation of Platonism than attaches to the earlier works.

At this point the author leans heavily on the statistical studies of Plato's language made by Campbell, Lutoslawski, and Ritter, since the dating of Plato's dialogues rests, if it rests anywhere, pretty largely on the conclusions reached by these scholars. The *Phaedo*, the *Republic*, and the *Phaedrus* are assigned to the earlier period, in which Plato's aim was chiefly to preserve a picture of the true Socrates. The *Laws*, *Timaeus*, *Critias*, and *Philebus* represent the later works, with the *Parmenides* and *Theaetetus* forming an intermediate group. The works of the early group are said to represent Socrates confident in the truth of the theory of ideas; those of the later group are said virtually to ignore the theory, while in the *Parmenides*, a transition work, very damaging dialectic is leveled against the theory.

The conclusion is drawn that the theory of ideas is properly attributable to Socrates, not to Plato. Confirmation is found in the fact that the immediate successors of Plato as head of the Academy (Speusippus and Xenocrates) did not accept the theory of ideas. More specific is the statement, in the fifth century A.D., of Proclus, the Neoplatonist, who had access to the library of the Academy:

The theory of forms (ideas) is also to be found among the Pythagoreans. Plato himself makes this clear in his *Sophist* by calling the wise men in Italy "friends of the forms," but he that gave them the highest place and most explicitly assumed the forms is Socrates.

Professor Burnet does not go so far as to say that Plato did not in some form accept the theory of ideas, but he insists that Platonism must be looked for, not there, but in the content of the later dialogues, particularly the *Laws*. This work and the *Epistles*, which, with the exception of the first, are assumed to be genuine, form the greater part of the basis for his interpretation. This falls under three heads — politics, mathematics (including cosmology), and theology. In each field Aristotle's views are contrasted with Plato's, with the intention of avoiding the danger

that Plato may be regarded as a "sort of mixture of Socrates and Aristotle."

One chapter is devoted to Plato's activities in Syracuse as the adviser of Dionysius. These activities bore fruit in the *Laws*, which was intended as a guide to legislative experts, the Academy being called on repeatedly, according to Plutarch, to supply the services of such experts to various states of Greece. Through these experts Platonic legal doctrine is said to have passed, to no small extent, into the Hellenistic juridical systems, thence to be adopted later by Roman *praetores peregrini* into the body of the *ius honorarium*. The Roman jurist's ken, of course, omitted much that Plato considered fundamental in government — education, science, and religion, e.g. — in which respect Plato is much closer to the modern world. In education particularly he is not only responsible for the prototype of the modern university but laid down detailed regulations for elementary and preschool training of children.

The chief interest of the Academy, Professor Burnet states, was mathematics; and apart from Plato, the leading spirit in mathematical investigation was Theaetetus, who is credited with being the founder of mathematics and particularly the originator of solid geometry. Plato's knowledge of mathematics as taught in the Academy had been gained in large part from Archytas of Tarentum. Its source was Pythagorean and not Egyptian, the Egyptian mathematics being distinctly rule of thumb calculation of comparatively feeble power.

Akin to the Academy's mathematical interest was its study of astronomy. Plutarch is our authority for believing that Plato in his old age had come to the view that the universe was not geocentric. It was due largely to Aristotle, according to the author, that a geocentric astronomy prevailed until modern times.

In theology Professor Burnet finds a significant difference between the doctrine taught in the Academy (as inferred from the *Laws*) and that put into the mouth of Socrates in the early dialogues. The earlier, or Socratic, account of the soul, as given in the *Phaedo*, has definite relations with the theory of ideas. The later, or Platonic, account, ignoring this theory, defines the soul

as a movement that can move itself, the motions of the soul being thoughts, memories, wishes, hopes, fears, and the like. Good souls initiate orderly and regular movements; bad souls the reverse kind. Hence it follows that the soul which originates the most perfect movements — those of astronomical bodies — is the most perfect soul. This soul is God, whose existence is thus demonstrated by the existence of regular motion.

Aristotle turned this Platonic theory into something quite different. By subdividing psychic motion into active and passive and making the soul the mover and the body the moved, he introduced a dualism which afflicted psychology until our own day and which has its affiliations in the most primitive forms of thinking. As applied to the universe, this refinement made it necessary to assume a "separated intelligence" for each of the concentric revolving spheres by means of which Aristotle explained the motions of the heavenly bodies. The mover of the outmost sphere, that of the fixed stars, was God. Moreover, as a "separated intelligence," God had no interest in, or knowledge of, the moral life.

Such in brief outline is what must be considered Professor Burnet's final view of Platonism. The book is written in a friendly, meandering fashion, digressing here and there to discuss questions of interest to students of Plato, of the Greek tradition, and of the history of civilization. So far is it from a rigidly organized, scientific presentation that we do not learn definitely until we reach p. 113 that the author means by Platonism the doctrine taught in the Academy. In the course of these lectures the reader will find arguments, many of them acute, regarding the authenticity of the Platonic *Epistles* and the chronology and time-setting of various dialogues. Two fields for future investigation are suggested, viz. the contribution of Plato to Roman law and the extent to which Plato's *Laws* is a reflection of Athenian practice or an implicit criticism of it.

Professor Burnet's interpretation of Platonism is distinctly attractive and, in its general drift, probably sound. That is to say, the real Plato was probably, in his maturity, the scientist, mathematician, and practical political scientist rather than the mystic. Nevertheless the author exaggerates the completeness of the

divorce between the theory of ideas and the Platonism of the Academy. Aristotle had access to the library of the Academy, and he considered the theory of ideas such an essential point in Platonism that for him to quarrel with it was to jeopardize an intellectual friendship with Plato (*Ethics* 1096a11-16). Moreover, in the *Timaeus*, acknowledged by the author to be one of the later, or "Platonic," dialogues, Plato reaffirms his belief in the reality of the ideas in the most unequivocal terms (*Timaeus* 51 f.). Yet despite the uncertain foundation of this portion of Professor Burnet's main contention and despite various other confidently stated judgments which invite challenge, this book remains fundamentally correct in its main emphasis and is one of the most informing popular studies of Plato that have appeared for many years.

JOHN W. TAYLOR

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EDWARD KENNARD RAND, *Founders of the Middle Ages*: Cambridge, Harvard University Press (1928). Pp. ix+365. \$4.

In this book, which embodies the Lowell Lectures of 1928, a ripe scholar has put into literary form so smooth as to seem effortless the cream of his painfully acquired lore. The author declares that his aim is to emphasize the importance of certain great men and certain great movements, especially in the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries, and to "point out their significance as precursors of certain aspects of medieval civilization." He first discusses the relation between the church and pagan culture, posing the problem in his first chapter and discussing the solution in his second. The problem, of course, is set in the clearest and sharpest light in the well-known story of St. Jerome, who thought he could not be at once a Ciceronian and a Christian, or in Tertullian's declaration that professors of Greek and Latin literature were idolaters in disguise. Gregory, despite his theories, found it impossible to deviate into Christian illiteracy. He could not abandon even what he believed to be an outworn culture, but recognized that Christianity was the heir of a glorious past, which must have some meaning for the present (p. 32).

Paul certainly did not disdain to quote pagan authors. There was so much in them that was true. How could the church with its new revelations break with a past that agreed at so many points with that revelation? (p. 37) Even Tertullian was willing to let the ancient studies have a place in the curriculum, and thought professors of Greek and Latin a necessary evil. Rand quaintly remarks that Tertullian was more courteous at that than the reformers of today, who consider such professors quite an unnecessary evil. Minucius Felix' *Octavius* took its cue from Paul and was intended to identify Christianity with the best in preceding thought. Lactantius harbored the same design (p. 60). He is glad to record any harmony he can detect between classical writers and the principles of Christianity. He wrote the typical book of his age and solved the Christian problem, laying down the principle that Christianity may and must draw its sustenance from the thought, the poetry, and the inspiration of a faith in whose belief and morals it finds much to be avoided (p. 63). This has been and is the attitude of the Roman Catholic church toward the study of the humanities (p. 68).

The problem stated and solved, Rand passes to certain of the founders. Chapter III is devoted to "St. Ambrose the Mystic." He translated Greek thought into Roman (p. 99). He took the pagan ethics and showed that its precepts are found in both Old and New Testaments and in the past and present of the Christian church (p. 81). The system of Cicero is translated into contemporary terms (p. 82). The best in pagan thought and art would help, not hinder, the forming of Christian character (p. 83).

Chapter IV is entitled "St. Jerome the Humanist," a term which first wants defining (p. 103). Jerome only gradually acquired his humanism (p. 107). He was no friend to Ambrose and fought against his allegorical exegesis (p. 117). He forgot his anti-Ciceronian dream. President Pease's researches have shown that he was really an incorrigible humanist. He wrote some exciting literature for Christians about the lives of certain saints, somewhat in the strain of the Greek romances. Rand finds no writer of

mediaeval times to censure Jerome for breaking his vow and relapsing into Ciceronianism (p. 134).

With Chapter V we reach Boethius, the first of the Scholastics. Was he a Christian or a pagan? To the development of thought he performed an invaluable service by helping to create a new philosophical idiom (p. 145). It was not till the last dozen years of his life that he turned to theology, in which he started a new method by applying Aristotelian logic to Christian problems, not independently of Augustine but more systematically (p. 153). With him, not with Abelard, begins scholastic philosophy (p. 155). He is one of the most satisfactory representatives of Christian humanism thus far examined, for, with the stirring conflicts with paganism behind it, the church could now assimilate the best of the past (p. 157). Rand is here on his favorite ground and prints a masterly analysis of the *Consolation of Philosophy*, an analysis which had formed no part of his oral lecture.

Chapter VI is entitled "The New Poetry" and deals chiefly with Prudentius, the Christian Lucretius, and with the rise of the Christian hymn, the most original contribution of the church to poetry; Rand points out its indefinable pagan framework. Chapter VII deals with "The New Education." Here again the author is on a favorite battleground, and sly witticisms on contemporary educational vagaries scintillate throughout the chapter. He is not afraid to demand an aristocratic education, i. e. one which is "liberal" in the original meaning of the term.

St. Augustine and Dante are the subject of the last chapter. It discusses the attitude of Augustine to pagan literature, which the author examines for harbingers of Christianity. The *City of God* is a kind of *Aeneis sacra* (p. 277), Augustine a kind of link between Vergil and Dante (p. 278). The last five pages are devoted to a summary of the argument and emphasize anew the supreme importance of the founders of the Middle Ages. Some sixty pages of notes and an adequate Index close the volume.

Some very acute sayings have been scattered on Corinna's principle through the notes. Rand's remarks on hypotheses of interpolation (p. 295), the rationalistic attitude toward dualism

(p. 321), and his comic dismay, which might be deemed profane were it not so obviously sincere, over a prominent Catholic's doubts whether or not Boethius was a Christian, are too good to be hidden in a separate section of notes.

The author is one of those who, with broad knowledge of Greek, yet decline to trace from such a remote time any direct influence upon mediaeval literature in view of the almost total ignorance of Greek in the Middle Ages. He seems a little nettled at the tendency to emphasize the superiority of the Greek over the Latin fathers (p. 7) and frankly confesses in his Preface an intention to defend the culture of the western church (see also p. 318). To the lament that so many of the Roman theologians were lawyers he retorts that the Greek theologians were professors and that, if there is one subject on which a professor should not talk, it is theology (pp. 73, 76). Himself one of the foremost exponents of mediaeval studies, the author (p. 5) has nothing but horror for the excesses of some of the mediaevalists who would shove them into the place of the masterpieces of classical Latin even in the second year of the high school!

With all his praise of President Eliot — he compares him at some length to Gregory the Great and defends him in the notes (p. 293) — Rand hints at some animus in Eliot's attitude to classical studies. He maintains that such men really do not know how much of their own culture they owe to what they would have us abandon (p. 27). He would favor granting their demand for a nonclassical education provided no one brought up on the ancients might have any share in planning or operating it. He seems to think that he knows what the product would be. Though dismayed at certain modern tendencies in education, Rand is not cynical or gloomy. At times he is positively cheerful. He looks forward (p. 142) to another Renaissance of Greek, eight centuries from now!

There runs throughout the whole volume (usually hardly detectable but leavening the whole lump, sometimes bubbling up to the surface for a moment, unobtrusively sparkling) the genial humor which we have learned to enjoy in Rand's spoken utterances. He speaks of art for the artist's sake (p. 181), and he finds

the exit of Cassian (*notarius notatus*) as amusing as Charon thought the death of the man who had made a dinner date and then lost his life by a falling rooftile (p. 195).

To the Lake school he is not always quite fair. He quotes Lake as maintaining that a departure from orthodoxy is always in the direction of truth (p. 125). What Lake actually said, as quoted in the notes (p. 307), was that a nearer approach to truth is always a departure from orthodoxy. Is this the fallacy of the undistributed middle or the conversion of proposition A without qualification? I trow not.

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ALBERT R. CRITTENDEN, *Readings in Roman Law*: Yellow Springs, Ohio, The Antioch Press (1928). Pp. 130+Index (not numbered).

Of the various departments of Latin literature Roman law should have a more prominent place in the curricula of American colleges than it now holds. Law has a universal appeal because it is so much a part of our everyday life. Owing to the fact that the fundamental laws of the modern nations have been influenced by Roman law, there is no difficulty in holding the interest of students who plan no special study of law as well as of those who are to enter law schools. Besides the advantages obtained from the subject matter, the Latin has a clarity and directness which recommends itself.

In his Preface the editor states that, although this book is designed especially for prelaw students, it should be attractive to all classes of students, in high school as well as in college. The text is made up of extracts chosen from the *Institutes*, the *Digest*, and a few selections from other sources. In addition to the Latin text there are an Introduction—a short summary of the history of Roman law—thirty-four pages of notes (91-124), a list of authors and works cited (p. 125), a Glossary of Latin law terms (126-30), and an Index (eight pages).

The pagination is somewhat faulty. As the Introduction be-

gins on p. 3, p. 1 (if numbered) would fall on the third page of the Contents, thereby leaving four pages which cannot be reckoned with numerically. The pages of the Index are not numbered, though the first page is referred to by number in the Contents.

Unfortunately the book was badly proofread. For example, on the second page of the Contents after the word "Sale," 67 should be read instead of 70; likewise after "Hire," 70 should be read instead of 72. In the notes under pp. 49 and 50 there is confusion throughout in reference to the lines of the text. The number of lines on p. 67 cannot be made to agree with the numerals.

Greek accents and breathings are difficult things to be kept to their proper slant and turn; so we find ἔγγραφοι for ἔγγραφοι (p. 16, 1. 28), and p. 65, 1. 8 has θέλω for θέλω. Speaking of accents, some would prefer to have the accent written on Code Napoléon (p. 6).

Despite the inaccuracies in the make-up of the book, this work offers to the student beginning his reading in Roman law some well-chosen selections which will introduce him to this important field of our Roman heritage.

EARL LE V. CRUM

LEHIGH UNIVERSITY

EDWARD YODER, *The Position of Possessive and Demonstrative Adjectives in the Noctes Atticae of Aulus Gellius* (Language Dissertations Published by the Linguistic Society of America, No. 2.) : Philadelphia (1928). Pp. 103.

Dr. Yoder states his purpose and method as follows (p. 7):

The purpose of the present study is to ascertain the usage of a particular Latin writer (Aulus Gellius) in regard to the position in which he places certain adjectival modifiers. For this the possessive adjectives *meus*, *noster*, *tuus*, *vester*, *suus*, and the demonstrative adjectives *is*, *idem*, *hic*, *ille*, *iste*, *ipse* have been chosen. . . . This study approaches the question of the position of these words primarily from the point of view of emphasis. For determining the degree of emphasis upon these the entire context of each example is essential.

The author has collected all the examples of the possessive and demonstrative adjectives in the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius, has classified them according to their position with reference to the substantives they modify, and has studied them carefully in their context to determine whether they are emphatic or not. In general the author finds that these adjectives are emphatic when they precede and unemphatic when they follow their substantives.

The summary (pp. 96-99) shows that the possessives precede their substantives 121 times, follow 288 times; *is* precedes 699 times, follows 20 times; *idem* precedes 328 times, follows 11 times; *hic* precedes 499 times, follows 212 times; *ille* precedes 154 times, follows 81 times; *iste* precedes 95 times, follows 140 times; and *ipse* precedes 116 times, follows 97 times. These figures clearly indicate the difference in function between the demonstrative adjectives, which more often precede their substantives, and the possessive adjectives, which more often follow their substantives.

More studies in Latin word-order of this sort are needed if the teachers of Latin are going to learn to read Latin as Latin and to teach others so to read it, for, in order to do this successfully, more attention must be given to word-grouping and word-order and the proper inflection of phrases and sentences.

Dr. Yoder has done a careful and painstaking piece of work, and it will be very much worth while for any teacher of Latin to become familiar with the principles of word-order set forth in this dissertation.

EDGAR A. MENK

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MUNCIE, INDIANA

Hints for Teachers

[Edited by Marie B. Denneen, North Carolina College for Women, Greensboro, N. C. The aims of this department are threefold: to assist the inexperienced teacher of Latin, to help the experienced teacher keep in touch with matters of interest in the professional world, and to serve as a receiving center and distributing point for questions and contributions on teaching problems. Questions will be answered by mail or in the pages of this department. Contributions in the form of short paragraphs dealing with projects, tests, interest devices, methods, and materials are requested. All correspondence should be addressed to the editor of this department.]

A Method for the Study of Vergil's Principles of Metrical Composition and His Occasional Deviations from These

Before taking up the Latin verse, let the class read aloud in concert from some English dactylic hexameter poem, e.g. Longfellow's *Evangeline*. When the rhythm of this is well fixed in mind (through eye, ear, and tongue), the teacher should read several lines of the *Aeneid* in Latin and then let the class read in concert the same lines with the teacher. Ask the class to express itself as to whether the rhythm is the same in both readings. Now let the class read slowly and metrically with the teacher (let mistakes fall where they may) and be ready to answer from their own observation the following questions.

- I, a. How many cadences or regularly recurring waves are there in one line of Vergil's poetry?
- b. What would you name the line in view of this fact?
- c. (1) How many syllables make up these individual cadences or waves?
- (2) What is the quantity or time of these syllables?
- (3) Are the cadences all made up of the same number of syllables?
- (4) Are they all equal in time? What name may be given to these cadences, waves, or feet? Let students first suggest names.
- (5) Which of the three kinds of feet gives the predominating character to the line?

(6) What further name may be given to the line in view of this fact?

d. (1) What is the character of the first four feet?
 (2) What is the character of the fifth foot?
 (3) What is the character of the last foot?

II, a. (1) In reading a line metrically (i.e. rhythmically) can all the syllables always be given their full time or must certain syllables be slurred over and be pronounced practically without time?
 (2) Under what circumstances, then, does this slurring between words occur, and what is its purpose?

b. (1) Does a slurring or running one syllable into another without time of pronunciation for the first, occur inside of a word as well as between two words?
 (2) Does this accomplish the same purpose as under *a*?

III, a. (1) Do you notice that in most of the lines of this poem there is a rhetorical or sense break, generally indicated by some mark of punctuation?
 (2) Is there more than one?
 (3) In what foot or feet are these breaks generally found?
 (4) In what part of the foot is the break generally found?
 (5) Is it always found in this particular part?

b. (1) Are these rhetorical breaks found in the same places in succeeding lines?
 (2) What is the evident purpose of this plan?

IV. The Quantity of Syllables

NOTE.—The simple and common principles of quantity should have been studied and acquired by the student from the beginning of his study of Latin. If he is at fault in these on beginning Vergil, he should learn them from any grammar at hand.

V. Deviations from the Normal

As the student continues in his metrical reading he will come upon certain deviations from the principles outlined

above. These deviations or variations should not be studied in advance of the reading of the poem. Note each variation as you come to it. *Let the class first discover it.* E.g. in vs. 16 there is a failure to slur in the case of *Samo hic*. When this variation is reached in reading, ask:

- a. How does this situation differ from other similar situations already met?
- b. Why does Vergil vary from his usage here? Let reasons be suggested, but do not give or attempt a final solution until other illustrations are met. See VI, b.
- c. Finally give the name of this variation and the etymological meaning of the name. So with the other groups of variants.

VI. Vergil's metrical variations from the normal verse structure are as follows, grouped in classes according to the nature of the variation:

- a. I, 617; II, 68; III, 12, 74, 517, 549; V, 320, 761.
- b. I, 16, 405, 617; III, 74, 606; IV, 235, 667; V, 261.
- c. I, 332, 448; II, 745; IV, 558, 629; V, 422, 753; VI, 602; VII, 160.
- d. I, 41, 73, 120, 131, *passim* (but see III, 464; V, 722), 195, 698, 726; II, 16, 442, 492, 735; III, 244, 578; IV, 686; V, 269, 352, 432, 589; VI, 33, 201, 280, 412, 653.
- e. V, 186; VI, 507.
- f. I, 308, 478, 651, 668; II, 563; III, 91, 112, 464, 504; IV, 64, 146, 222; V, 284; VI, 254, 640, 768.

FRANK J. MILLER, *Professor Emeritus*

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

Pharmaceutical Latin

Many of us before having a prescription filled have tried unsuccessfully to read it, but perhaps not all of us have realized that the prescription was written, more or less, in Latin. I say "more or less" advisedly, since nearly every prescription is a mixture of English words, Latin words, and abbreviations which are sometimes clearly Latin, sometimes English, but often may be either.

The use of Latin for writing prescriptions may be traced back through the Middle Ages to the time of Rome, and various reasons may be given for its continuance in the present. A prescription correctly written in Latin can be filled by a properly trained pharmacist in almost any part of the civilized world. Perhaps more important is the fact that each word in pharmaceutical Latin has a definite and unchanging meaning, while words which are used in ordinary conversation may have several meanings and may change in meaning from time to time and from place to place. "Wintergreen" may mean one of several drugs, while *gaultheria* is not open to misunderstanding. The desire for secrecy may sometimes be a motive for the use of Latin, although the handwriting of most prescriptions is alone sufficient to baffle the uninitiated. There is a tendency today to use English in prescriptions, but a course in pharmaceutical Latin is, and for a long time must be, a required course in every reputable college of pharmacy.

A typical prescription consists of four parts. First is the "supercription," which is merely the symbol **R**, standing for the imperative *Recipe*. This is followed by the "inscription" containing the names and quantities of the ingredients. Each quantity is in the accusative case as an object of *Recipe*, while the names of the drugs are in the genitive, each depending on its respective quantity. After the "inscription" comes the "subscription," or the directions for compounding. Although the "subscription" may be somewhat detailed, it often consists merely of some such abbreviation as *M. S. A.*, *misce secundum artem*, "mix according to the art," or *M. Ft. Mist.*, *misce, fiat mistura*, "mix and let a mixture be made." The prescription ends with the "signa" or "signatura," the directions to be written on the label for the guidance of the patient.

I give below two prescriptions, first in an abbreviated form such as is commonly used, and then written out in full. I am adding in the same way further examples of the "inscription" and the "signatura," as these are the portions of a prescription which contain most of interest to the classical student.

B.	<i>Zinci Sulph.,</i>	<i>gr. ii ss</i>
	<i>Ac. Boric.,</i>	<i>gr. xv</i>
	<i>Aq. Dest., q. s. ad</i>	<i>ʒ i</i>
M.	<i>Ft. Collyr. Filtra.</i>	
Sig.	<i>Gutt. pro oculis.</i>	
Recipe	<i>Zinci Sulphatis,</i>	<i>grana duo cum semisse</i>
	<i>Acidi Borici,</i>	<i>grana quindecim</i>
	<i>Aquaes Destillatae, quantum sufficiat ad unciam unam</i>	
Misce.	<i>Fiat Collyrium. Filtra.</i>	
Signa.	<i>Guttae pro oculis.</i>	
B.	<i>Syr. Scillae,</i>	<i>ʒ ss</i>
	<i>Tr. Opii Camph.,</i>	<i>ʒ vi</i>
	<i>Syr. Tolu.,</i>	
	<i>Syr. Prun. Virg., aa.</i>	<i>ʒ i</i>
	<i>Aq., ad</i>	<i>ʒ iv</i>
M.	<i>Ft. Mist. Mitte ʒ viii.</i>	
Sig.	<i>ʒ i, p. r. n.</i>	
Recipe	<i>Syrupi Scillae,</i>	<i>unciam semissem</i>
	<i>Tincturae Opii Camphoratae,</i>	<i>drachmas sex</i>
	<i>Syrupi Tolutani,</i>	
	<i>Syrupi Pruni Virginianae, ana,</i>	<i>unciam unam</i>
	<i>Aquaes, ad</i>	<i>uncias quattuor</i>
Misce.	<i>Fiat mistura. Mitte uncias octo.</i>	
Signa.	<i>Drachmam unam pro re nata.</i>	
M.	<i>Ft. Pil. tal. No. XXIV.</i>	
Misce.	<i>Fiant pilulae tales numero viginti quattuor.</i>	
M.	<i>Div. in Chart. No. LX.</i>	
Misce.	<i>Divide in chartulas numero sexaginta.</i>	
Sig.	<i>Cap. coch. parv. in aq. q. i. d., p. c. et h. s.</i>	
Signa.	<i>Capiat cochleare parvum in aqua quater in die, post cibos et hora somni.</i>	
Sig.	<i>ʒ ss sumend. a. c., p. p. a.</i>	
Signa.	<i>Unciam semissem sumendam ante cibos, phiala prius agitata.</i>	

These may be translated as follows:

Take	<i>Of Sulphate of Zinc,</i>	<i>two grains and a half</i>
	<i>Of Boric Acid,</i>	<i>fifteen grains</i>
	<i>Of Distilled Water, as much as is enough to make one ounce.</i>	
Mix.	<i>Let an eye lotion be made. Filter.</i>	
Write.	<i>Drops for the eyes.</i>	

Take Of Syrup of Squill, one half ounce
 Of Camphorated Tincture of Opium, six drachms
 Of Syrup of Tolu,
 Of Syrup of Wild Cherry, of each, one ounce
 Of Water, to four ounces

Mix. Let a mixture be made. Send eight ounces.

Write. [Let him take] one drachm [=one teaspoonful] as occasion arises.

Mix. Let such pills, twenty-four in number, be made.

Mix. Divide into papers [or powders], sixty in number.

Write. Let him take a teaspoonful in water four times a day, after meals, and at bed time.

Write. One half ounce to be taken before meals, the bottle having first been shaken.

As many of the words used here will prove strange to the ordinary student, I subjoin translations of such as are not self-explanatory: *granum*, *gutta*, *drachma*, and *uncia*, the weights or measures "grain," "drop," "drachm," and "ounce"; *semis*, "one half" (used as an adjective when not part of a larger number; otherwise as a noun, e.g. *unciam semissem*, *drachmas duas cum semisse* or *et semissem*); *collyrium*, "eye lotion"; *filtra*, "filter" (imperative); *scilla*, "squill"; *tolutanus*, "of tolu"; *Prunus Virginiana*, "wild cherry"; *ana*, "of each"; *pro re nata*, "as occasion arises"; *chartula*, "paper" or "powder"; *cochleare parvum*, "teaspoonful" ("dessertspoonful" and "tablespoonful" are *cochleare medium* and *cochleare amplum*); and *phiala*, "bottle." "Camphorated tincture of opium" is the druggists' name for "paregoric." When the noun in the "signa" is in the accusative case, *capiat* is to be understood.

RUSSEL M. GEER

BROWN UNIVERSITY

The Status of Latin Shown by Graph

The status of Latin based on the total enrollment in foreign languages in American secondary schools for 1923-24, as given in the *Report of the Classical Investigation*, furnishes interesting material for a poster. The enrollment for Latin alone was found to be 940,000 while the enrollment for other languages

combined was 926,000. This can be shown on a poster entitled "Latin Holds Its Own" in the form of a graph. Inch-wide strips of different colors of construction paper, measured as to length on a scale of one-eighth inch to each 10,000 of the enrollment data, are placed horizontally on the poster opposite the names of the various languages.

The data on which the graph is based are as follows: Italian, Swedish, Hebrew, etc., 5,000; Greek, 11,000; German, 40,000; Spanish, 330,000; French, 540,000; Latin, 940,000.

LILLIAN GRACE HALVERSON

MANCHESTER, IA.

Stage Coach

In both the Latin Club and in class I have been trying a modified form of "Stage Coach" which the children love. Into a lively, home-made narrative I weave twenty or twenty-five recently acquired nouns, or perhaps verbs. Each child has the Latin equivalent of one of these nouns (with nominative, genitive, and gender) given him on a slip of paper. In the case of verbs, the principal parts are written out in full. As I read the yarn, when I come across one of the selected English words, a child rises, reads from his slip, whirls about rapidly once, and sits down again. Each of the chosen words occurs four or five times, so that the class gets a fairly good drill on the particular type of words chosen.

MRS. H. G. KOPSCHE

LANGLEY JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL
WASHINGTON, D. C.

Courses of Study in Latin

The Tentative Syllabus in Ancient Languages (1928 revision) published by the State Department of Education, the University of the State of New York, Albany, contains many suggestions for the teacher of high-school Latin. The following topics selected from the work given on fourth-year Latin are typical: "Vocabulary," "Inflections," "Required Readings," "Famous Passages to be Memorized," "Study of Content and Background"

(functions and attributes of each of the following deities; rôle played by, or the interest attaching to, each of the following characters; location of places, rivers, etc.), "Devices of Style and Grammar," and "Collateral Reading." Price 20 cents.

The *St. Louis Curriculum Bulletin* No. 43 (Latin for Grades IX-XII) has the work arranged in parallel columns under the headings "Specific Objectives" and "Suggested Activities," and "Suggested Procedure" and "Desirable Outcomes." It suggests both "How to do" and "What to do." Address Board of Education of the City of St. Louis, St. Louis, Mo. Price 50 cents.

Latin Tests

Additions to the list of available objective tests are as follows: *Bacon Diagnostic Tests in Latin*, based on Gray and Jenkins, *Latin for Today*, First-Year Course, Ginn and Company, New York, Chicago, and Atlanta. Price per copy of complete pad \$2.25; \$1.80, wholesale.

Hutchinson Latin Grammar Scale A and B, by Mark E. Hutchinson, Public School Publishing Company, Bloomington, Ill. Price 50 cents for package of 25 scales.

Latin Speed Tests, review of Latin forms, by Frances L. McTammany, Troy High School, Troy, N. Y. Pads 50 cents each plus postage.

Progress Tests in Latin, by B. L. Ullman and A. W. Smalley, Macmillan Company, New York, Chicago, and Atlanta. Pp. 174. Price 84 cents.

Ullman-Clark Test on Classical References and Allusions, by B. L. Ullman and Grace W. Clark, published and distributed by Bureau of Educational Research and Service, State University of Iowa, Iowa City. Price 2½ cents per copy plus postage.

Mythology

Latin teachers who wish to have a concise book on this subject will be interested in *A Handbook of Classical Mythology*, by George Howe and G. A. Harrer, published by F. S. Crofts and Company, New York. Price \$1.50.

Current Events

[Edited by Clarence W. Gleason, Roxbury Latin School, Boston, Mass., and John Barker Stearns, Dartmouth College, Hanover, N. H., for territory covered by the Associations of New England and the Atlantic States; Daniel W. Lothman, East High School, Cleveland, O., for the Middle States east of the Mississippi River; George Howe, the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C., for the Southeastern States; Walter Miller, the University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., for the Southwestern States; and Franklin H. Potter, the University of Iowa, Iowa City, Ia., for the territory of the Association west of the Mississippi, exclusive of Louisiana and Texas. News from the Pacific Coast may be sent to Arthur P. McKinlay, University of California, Southern Branch, Los Angeles, Calif.

This department will present everything that is properly news of general appeal, but considerations of space compel the editors to ask that items be made as brief as possible. Whenever feasible, it is preferable to print programs of meetings which would draw an attendance from a large area as live news in advance of the date rather than as dead news after the event. In this connection it should be remembered that the November issue, e.g., appears on October fifteenth and that items must be in hand five or six weeks in advance of this date.]

Christmas Meetings

The annual meetings of the American Philological Association and of the Archaeological Institute of America will be held in Boston, Mass., December 26-28, 1929, the first public session for the reading of papers being on Thursday afternoon. Further details of the programs may be received from the respective secretaries, Professor Joseph W. Hewitt of Wesleyan University at Middletown, Conn., and Professor Rollin H. Tanner of New York University.

Illinois College

At the centennial celebration of Illinois College at Jacksonville, Ill., on October 15, 1929, it was announced that \$50,000 had been presented for the establishment of an Edward Capps Professorship of Greek and Latin. The gift was made by the family and friends of Professor Edward Capps of Princeton University, including several prominent statesmen and business men of Greece.

Indianapolis

The Classical Section of the Indiana State Teachers Association met at Indianapolis on Thursday forenoon and afternoon, October 17, 1929. The speakers and their subjects were as follows: Roy C. Flickinger of

the University of Iowa, "Roman Britain"; Miss Mary Harrah of Fort Wayne, "Odds and Ends"; and Dean Anna P. McVay of the Wadleigh High School, New York City, "Your Part in the Vergilian Celebration." A round table discussion dealing with the State Latin Contest was conducted under the direction of Mrs. Adele Bittner of Indiana University.

University of Leipzig¹

On August 22, 1929, Richard Heinze, professor of Classical Philology in the University of Leipzig, died suddenly on the journey homeward from a brief vacation. Heinze was perhaps best known in America for his book *Virgils Epische Technik*,² a work which approached the study of the *Aeneid* from a point of view relatively novel, in that it aimed to recover and reconstruct the poet's intention and motives in the light of the literary and traditional environment of his day. It is a masterpiece of historical as opposed to aesthetic or subjective criticism. Not less important and perhaps equally well known are his many revisions of Kiessling's *Horace*, which by degrees had in a true sense become his own. It was with Horace that he began his literary career, and few dissertations have enjoyed a celebrity equal to his *De Horatio Bionis Imitatore*, with which he qualified for the doctor's degree at Bonn in 1889, at the age of twenty-two. The subject was, to be sure, in the air; but he was, I think, the actual pioneer in the definition and exploration of the "Bionean diatribe," the study of which has grown to such huge proportions today. He was the author of many special papers and monographs, scattered in various journals and in the publications of the Saxon Academy. Since Leo's death he has been the principal editor of *Hermes*, in which most of his more recent studies have appeared. These studies pertain for the most part to literary history or to ancient ethical and political philosophy. Heinze was a man of great shrewdness and penetration, clear and precise in expression, sometimes sharp in criticism, but with a saving grace of humor. Those of us who knew him as a fellow student in Bonn will recall a personality genial and loyal, and of a charm which precocious acuteness and learning did not mar.

Mt. Holyoke College

Professor R. S. Conway of the University of Manchester lectured at Mt. Holyoke College on November 6, 1929. His subject was "Vergil as a Student of Homer."

¹ This paragraph was contributed by Professor G. L. Hendrickson of Yale University.

² Leipzig, B. G. Teubner (1903; third edition in 1915).

Ohio Classical Conference

The eighth annual meeting of the Ohio Classical Conference was held with Wittenberg College and the high schools of Springfield, O., on October 24-26, 1929. The following program was given as previously announced: Elizabeth L. Bishop, Western College for Women, "The Modernism of Horace"; Rev. Henry F. Heck, Pontifical College Josephinum, Columbus, "Cicero's Friendship through the Eyes of a Mediaeval Abbot"; Miriam C. Akers, Denison University, "A Cycladic Cruise" (illustrated); Lester K. Born, Ohio State University, "A Mediaeval Commentator on Ovid"; Louis E. Lord, Oberlin College, "A Cruise Among the Aegean Islands" (illustrated); two Latin playlets presented by the High School Latin Club under the direction of Miss Lula Cumback, Springfield; Eva Gardner, Mt. Gilead High School, "The Women of the *Aeneid*"; Marguerite W. Bentz, Siebert School, Columbus, "The Story of a Biblical Quotation"; M. Evelyn Dilley, Shaker Heights High School, "The Dramatic Development of the Parasite"; Victor D. Hill, Ohio University, "Some Types of Illustration for Vergil's *Aeneid*"; Anna P. MacVay, Wadleigh High School, New York City, "Bimillennium Vergilianum"; Helen McN. Sheriff, Martins Ferry High School, "Latin Laboratory Work from a Practical Viewpoint"; Mildred Lenk, Dillonvale High School, "A Mining Town Monochrome"; Elizabeth Adams, Indianola Junior High School, Columbus, "How to Bring Latin down from the Clouds of Antiquity"; Leigh Alexander, Oberlin College, "The City of Patrae" (illustrated); Judge James Johnson, Springfield, "The Classics"; D. T. Schoonover, Marietta College, President's Address, "Lucretius, an Appreciation"; Lillian May Recher, Roosevelt High School, Dayton, "Demonstration Class in First Year Latin"; Belle Montgomery, Chaney High School, Youngstown, "The Influence Which Cicero Exerts on the Schoolroom of Today"; and Margaret Knight, La Grange High School, "An Evaluation of the Uses of Selections in Second-Year Latin." The following officers were elected for 1929-30: president, W. S. Elden, Ohio State University; secretary, J. O. Lofberg, Oberlin College.

Richmond, Kentucky

Sigma Lambda, a club for the foreign language students of Eastern Kentucky State Teachers College at Richmond, Ky., presented the *Trojan Women* of Euripides in Gilbert Murray's translation at sunset on the evening of May 23, 1929. The action took place on the Library steps, Greek Ionic columns furnishing a perfect setting. The costumes were designed and made by the players. The Department of Physical Education assisted in providing classical dances. By invita-

tion the presentation was repeated twice, once before the students of the Summer School at Eastern, and again at the newly completed Memorial Building at the University of Kentucky.

Rome, Summer Session

The enrollment of the Seventh Summer Session of the School of Classical Studies, American Academy in Rome, represented nineteen states and Canada. At the close of the six weeks' program on August 16, the members of the session made an excursion to Pompeii and the Vergil country. The Eighth Summer Session, July 7 to August 16, 1930, will be devoted to a special program on Vergil and Rome conducted by Professor Grant Showerman of the University of Wisconsin, director of the Summer Session since 1923. Enrollment is now in progress.

St. Paul

Dr. H. Osborne Ryder, who had been professor of Latin and Greek at Hamline University for the last eleven years, passed away suddenly on September 6, 1929. His work is being carried by Mrs. Blanche Hull Savage, wife of Professor H. B. Savage of the Greek Department at the University of Minnesota.

Classical Association of the Middle West and South, Southern Section

President W. D. Hooper announces that owing to the meeting of the whole Association at New Orleans in April the Southern Section will not hold a meeting this year. He expresses the desire that all members living in the territory of the Southern Section may attend the New Orleans meeting.

Stanford University

Stanford's contribution to the two-thousandth anniversary of Vergil's birth will be the publication of *Maphaeus Vegius and his Thirteenth Book of the Aeneid* — a Chapter on Vergil in the Renaissance, by Dr. Anna Cox Brinton, acting professor of classical literature at Stanford during the summer. This volume will be published this fall by Stanford University Press. The "Thirteenth Book" takes up the story of Aeneas at the end of Vergil's account and carries the hero through further adventures to his death and immortalization. The answers to the two questions "Why was the thirteenth book of the *Aeneid* written?" and "Why was it read and enjoyed all over Europe for more than two hundred years?" will throw light on Vergil's spiritual sway over European thought.

Recent Books¹

Compiled by HARRY M. HUBBELL, Yale University

ALLARDICE, J. T., *Syntax of Terence* (St. Andrew's University Publications): Oxford, University Press (1929). Pp. iv+152. 3s. 6d.

ALLARDYCE, R. M., *Latin for Beginners*: London, Edward Arnold and Co. (1929). Pp. 280. 3s. 6d.

BAGNANI, G., *The Roman Campagna and Its Treasures*: London, Methuen and Co. (1929). Pp. 320. Ill. 10s. 6d.

BARBOUR, AMY L., *Selections from Herodotus*, edited with Introduction, Notes, and Vocabulary: New York, D. C. Heath and Co. (1929). Pp. ix+388.

BATES, HERBERT, *The Odyssey of Homer*, translated into English Verse: New York, Harper and Bro. (1929). Pp. xlvi+427. \$1.20.

BEESON, CHARLES HENRY, *A Facsimile of Cicero's De Oratore*, as copied and revised by Servatus Lupus: Cambridge, Mass., Mediaeval Academy of America (1929). \$12.00.

BROCK, ARTHUR JOHN, *Greek Medicine*, being Extracts Illustrative of Medical Writers from Hippocrates to Galen: New York, E. P. Dutton (1929). Pp. 268. \$1.75.

COCHRANE, CHARLES NORRIS, *Thucydides and the Science of History*: New York, Oxford University Press (1929). Pp. 180. \$3.50.

COUCH, HERBERT NEWELL, *The Treasures of the Greeks and Romans* (Johns Hopkins University Dissertation): Menasha, Wis., George Banta Publishing Company (1929). Pp. 112.

EDMONDS, J. M., *Some Greek Love Poems*; a Translation, with a Brief Account of Greek Love-Poetry: London, Peter Davies (1929). 50s.

EDMONDS, J. M., and KNOX, A. D., *The Characters of Theophrastus; Herodes, Cercidas, and the Greek Choliambic Poets*, with English Translations (Loeb Classical Library): New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons (1929). Pp. vii+132; xxvi+365. \$2.50.

EVANS, SIR ARTHUR, *The Shaft Graves and Beehive Tombs of Mycenae, and Their Interrelation*: London, Macmillan and Co. (1929). Pp. 94. 15s.

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